

THE  
FOURTEENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR

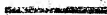
Colonizing the Free People of Colour

OF THE

UNITED STATES.



WITH AN APPENDIX.



WASHINGTON:

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1831.

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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AT THEIR

### FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

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THIS Meeting was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in Washington City, on Wednesday evening, the 19th of January, 1831. A great number assembled on this occasion, and on motion of Rev. Dr. Laurie, the Hon. C. F. MERCER, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, took the Chair a little before seven o'clock.

The following gentlemen appeared and took their seats as Delegates:

*From the State Colonization Society, New Hampshire.*

The Hon. SAMUEL BELL.

*From the State Colonization Society, New York.*

GERRIT SMITH, Esq.

*From the State Colonization Society, Pennsylvania.*

The Hon. Mr. HEMPHILL and ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq.

*From the State Colonization Society, North Carolina.*

Gen. BARRINGER, and Governor IREDELL.

*From the Caldwell Colonization Society, Kentucky.*

The Hon. C. LYON.

*From the Meadville Colonization Society, Pennsylvania.*

The Hon. THOMAS H. SILL.

*From the State Colonization Society, Vermont.*

The Hon. H. SEYMOUR, and Hon. B. SMITH.

*From the Auxiliary Society, Delaware.*

The Hon. ARNOLD NAUDAIN.

*From the State Colonization Society, Ohio.*

The Hon. Judge BURNETT, and J. G. BENHAM, Esq.

*From the Canfield Colonization Society, Ohio.*

The Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY.

*From the Newark Colonization Society, New Jersey.*

The Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

*From the State Colonization Society, Connecticut.*

The Hon. Mr. YOUNG, and Hon. Mr. INGERSOLL.

*From the Springfield Colonization Society, Massachusetts.*

The Hon. Mr. BATES.

*From the Auxiliary Society, Alexandria, D. C.*

The Rev. Mr. HARRISON, and Rev. Mr. CORNELIUS.

*From the Auxiliary Society, Georgetown, D. C.*

JOEL CRUTTENDEN, Esq., ROBERT P. DUNLOP, Esq., and THOMAS  
TURNER, Esq.

ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. of Philadelphia, then rose and said,

MR. PRESIDENT:

Before offering the resolution which I hold in my hand, let me beg the friends of this noble, this Godlike charity, to persevere in labours which have already been crowned with a success far beyond the most sanguine anticipations of its most devoted friends. Only nine years have elapsed since the little band of Colonists landed on the Cape, and a nation has already, at your bidding, sprang into existence—a nation destined to secure to Ethiopia, the fulfilment of the glorious prophecy made in her behalf: for already have two of her Kings thrown down their crowns at the feet of the infant republic, and formed with her a holy alliance—not such as the despots of the Old World have dignified with that proud name, while forging new chains for their miserable subjects—but for the holy purpose of exchanging the guilty traffic in human flesh and blood for legitimate commerce—equal laws—civilization and religion. Already

“From many an ancient river, from many a palmy plain,

They call us to deliver their land from error's chain.”

They now ask for schools—factories—churches. Nearly 2000 freemen have kindled a beacon fire at Monrovia, to cast a broad blaze of light into the dark recesses of that benighted land:—and although much pains has been

taken to overrate the cost, and undervalue the results, yet the annals of colonization may be triumphantly challenged for a parallel. Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for surveying the coast—propitiating the natives—and selecting the most eligible site;—numerous agents were subsequently employed—ships chartered—the forest cleared;—schools—factories—hospitals—churches—government buildings and dwellings erected, and the many expenses requisite here, defrayed—and yet, for every \$50 expended by our Society from its commencement, we have not only a settler to show, but an ample and fertile territory in reserve, where our future emigrants may sit under their own vines and fig trees with none to make them afraid. During the last year, an amount nearly equal to the united expenditures, in effecting these objects, has been exported by the colonists; and from Philadelphia alone, 11 vessels have sailed, three of them chartered through the efforts of the Pennsylvania Society, and bearing to the land of their forefathers a large number of slaves manumitted by the benevolence of their late owners.—A single incident will tell the feeling of these happy people—One of them in taking leave of Capt. Sherman at the Cape, begged him to assure their friends and benefactors that if it pleased the Almighty to prolong their existence to old age, they could not be sufficiently grateful to him and to them for the happy asylum provided for them—and declared that he could never before comprehend why the blood and tears of poor Africa had been thus long permitted to be so lavishly poured out—but that the problem was now solved—Liberia had already paid the debt!—Go on, gentlemen, with this noble work—and the patriot—the philanthropist—the christian—even the selfish calculator will support you. Even now do the wants of this young nation demand the establishment of a line of packets to sail every three or four months, and for this purpose, depend upon it, the funds will be liberally granted.—Connecticut in 1828 commenced with a contribution of \$200—in 1830 she increased it to \$1200; and if we become not weary in well doing, New England will arise in the majesty of her strength, and pour into our Treasury a generous portion of her wealth.

He then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to its Officers for the faithful manner in which their duties have been performed during the year, and for the Report just read, and that this Report be printed.

The Hon. Mr. WILSON, of Maryland, then addressed the Chair,

MR. PRESIDENT: I hold in my hand a Resolution, which I beg leave to move. It grows out of a melancholy event of the year just passed by and gone. With that year, has passed from time into eternity, an intimate and much-valued friend of mine. That friend, Sir, was also a friend of this Institution.

When it was first suggested that such an Institution as this should be called into existence—his mind, strong by nature, and highly cultivated by education, immediately saw in prospect, a way opening for the ame-

literation of the condition of a distressed, degraded, portion of our population. He also saw in distant view, the means in embryo, by which the political, moral, and religious character of afflicted, benighted Africa might possibly be improved.

The moment his mind became convinced—such was the moral structure of his heart—he took a prompt and zealous agency in forwarding the great benevolent objects of this Society.

You, Sir, cannot, nor can any one, who hears the sound of my voice, be at a loss, as to the individual to whom I allude.

It is the late much-lamented WILLIAM H. FITZHUGH, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society.

He is gone—and by that dispensation of divine wisdom, to our limited view, great—great indeed—is our loss.

I knew him well, and all who knew him, bore cheerful testimony to his worth.

Intelligent—active—blessed with a large fortune—with a suavity of manners, equalled by few and surpassed by none—he was useful in his day; and you, Sir, who knew him well, will bear me out, when I say, that if his life had been spared, he bid fair to expand the sphere of his usefulness, and to become one of the ornaments of this favored land.

But, Sir, the heart which once animated this excellent man, and which throbbed, at all times, so warmly in the cause of humanity, will now beat no more forever.

It has gone!—Oh where has it gone? Gone, I trust, to join its kindred spirits—the spirits of just men made perfect.

He has left behind, many who bemoan his loss. Alas! Sir, the first upon my affectionate recollection, is the lovely tender partner of his bosom. The next, in order, impressed upon my memory, is the interesting circle of family friends—nor friends more amiable and estimable, man ever had.

Let us mingle our sympathies with theirs, for the loss of such a man.

As a testimonial thereof, permit me to ask, that the resolution which I now hand to the Secretary may be placed upon our records.

I move the same, and can only add, that I anticipate its immediate, unanimous, unhesitating adoption.

*Resolved*, That this Institution is deeply afflicted by the death of William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. one of its Vice-Presidents, and that it will cherish an affectionate remembrance of his eminent private and public virtues, and his distinguished exertions in aid of the African cause.

When the Resolution was about to be put to the vote, Mr. CUSTIS, of Arlington, rose and addressed the Chair, as follows:

SIR: Before the Resolution you hold in your hand is offered to the unanimous approval of this Meeting, I crave the privilege of uttering a few words in discharge of the solemn duty I owe to the memory of him,

who is now the being of other worlds. Sir, our lot has fallen on calamitous times—for scarcely had we doffed our mourning garments for our venerated President,\* who so long and so worthily filled our Chair, and who bore his illustrious name, with many of the high dignities, and all the mild charities of life, pure and “time honored” to the grave—than we must again assume the insignia of sorrow; for lo! the “insatiate archer” hath sped another shaft, and another of our chiefs is hurried to an untimely tomb.

Sir, I did not rise to pronounce the eulogium of our lamented friend. It will be found written in the hearts, and can be read in the eyes, of his countrymen; yet, as I knew him well, as I loved him well, Sir; as he was near to me, as he was dear to me, Sir; I thus humbly perform my last melancholy duty; and though no praise of ours can now benefit him, he continues to benefit us by the force of his bright example.

He was one of the earliest, most zealous, and most faithful, among the many zealous and faithful laborers, in our common vineyard. He spared neither his time nor talents in the service of our cause, and by his last will and testament, has left an imperishable monument to his friendship and sympathy for the cause of the whole African race. Yes, Sir, and when in long distant day, powerful Liberia, in the pride and enjoyment of every freedom and happiness, shall erect in her capitol, tablets of gratitude, in memory of her early benefactors, the name of FITZBUGH will be graven thereon, in characters of pure and high relief.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq. of New York, then addressed the Chair as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: The object of the American Colonization Society is to remove from our country to Africa our present and future free coloured population. I hope I shall not be thought to have lost sight of this object, if I make Africa the principal theme of my remarks. This will not be thought out of place, to those who expect great blessings to flow from the successful prosecution of the object of the Society; and such as may agree with me, in the opinion, that these blessings must reflect a favourable influence on the direct operations of the Society, will consider Africa to be a subject not only excusable, but eminently suited to this occasion. The History of its better and brighter days sometimes exerts a redeeming influence on a nation. It is to the burning History of Ancient Greece, more than to all other causes, that modern Greece is indebted for the spirit of liberty and improvement with which she is inspired. And why may not Africa, roused at the thought of her ancient glory, endeavour to recover her elevation? Her past History should interest the nations in her welfare, and refute the wicked charge of the natural inferiority of her children. Africa was not always as she now is. If the light of science shone not ear-

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\* The Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, first President of the Colonization Society.

liest in Egypt, yet for centuries it shone only there. The reigns of the Ptolemies form a bright period in her annals. Alexandria, her Library and Scholars, were well known to the world. Carthage stood prominent among the empires of antiquity, and her importance is briefly attested in the "*delenda est Carthago*," so often pronounced in the Roman Senate. Nor should we omit to mention, that the mild beams of Christianity once shone upon Africa. Strange as it may seem, not a few of the Fathers of the church, Cyprian, Augustin, and Tertullian, were Africans, and her ecclesiastical councils, were attended by hundreds of bishops.

We have glanced at Africa, as she was, let us now look at her as she is. What contribution has she brought for the last thousand years to the arts or the sciences? Has a single valuable book, during that long period, been printed in Africa? Her moral and intellectual state is more cheerless than her deserts; for in these we see some *oases*, some cool and verdant spots; but her mind is a total waste, presenting a desolation without one redeeming feature. The agency of steam in propelling boats would seem as supernatural in Africa, as did the ships of Columbus to the Aborigines of this new world. What part has she in commerce? Her barbarism has rendered her soil almost as useless as though the ocean had been permitted to roll over it.

We may form some idea of the loss incurred by Africa, on account of her moral waste, by conjecturing what would be the loss were all Europe to be reduced to the state in which Africa is exhibited to our view. To have one-fourth of the soil uncultivated, and a great part of her population unemployed or uselessly employed, would be a mighty drawback on her revenue, a drawback to which her philanthropists and economists would never be reconciled.

But we are not concerned to look at the process by which Africa has been reduced to her present degradation; but we *are* deeply concerned to know how she may be raised. What agency are we bound to employ to effect this object?

I am well aware, that in the eyes of many, all efforts for the heathen are considered as the results of fanaticism, and knight errantry, which overlook plain duties to sally forth to labour at impracticable objects of good. If there be any within the sound of my voice, who look with contempt upon all efforts to enlighten and civilize heathen nations, we admit that they have no sympathies which we can hope to reach. Their charity begins and ends at home. But some, I trust, (and all Christians should be such) have a sympathy as wide as the world. There is not a child of Adam so remote, as to fall without its range.

But to return from this digression; let us inquire how Africa is to be raised from her degradation—to be awakened from her moral death; and what part in effecting this work, Providence has assigned to us.

Whatever means may be employed; we maintain, must be such as to accomplish the abolition of the slave trade, or they will fail; and both

America and Africa indicate that we are called on by Providence to employ the means and accomplish the work. Good, it is true, may be done while the slave trade continues, because it has been done. Missionaries have carried the religion of Jesus to some of her tribes, and the redeemed both on earth and in heaven, attest that they have not carried it in vain. Instances are not wanting of Africans, over whose brutal and ferocious features civilization had never shed one softening ray, who have surrendered themselves up to the pure and peaceful influences of our religion. The tiger has as much pity as had old Africaner, yet he became one of the loveliest specimens of Christian character. Still the good which has been effected, and we give full credit for it all, has been occasional and local, and had no permanent bearing on the great mass of the population. As long as the slave trade shall continue, a sense of the insecurity of life and property pervading the minds of the African people, will frustrate our endeavours to civilize them. Even in our own country, we find the march of improvement slow and difficult, and it would cease but for the security of life and property. Africa may be compared to a family which suspends all improvement while a law suit is pending, or disease threatens the life of one of its prominent members. Even in our own happy country, (happy far beyond any which the sun shines on) the kind mother ventures to leave her house with none in it but her infant in its cradle, and the family lie down to sleep with unbolted doors. And why? 'Tis because the shield of the laws is over her infant, and the moral sense of the community is the protection of the family. Look at Africa, and you see a perfect contrast. What more common scene *there*, than that of a neighbourhood filled with horror and dismay, villages surprised and fired;—the inhabitants, while the conflagration glares upon them—some perishing—some escaping,—others more ill-fated, bound and on their way to the slave ship, which lies waiting to receive them. We sympathize with good old Jacob, bereaved and afflicted, when his son was sold into slavery. But have we no hearts for the thousands of Jacobs in Africa, who are lamenting that Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and that Benjamin, too, the man stealer has taken away. Mothers, so alive to sympathy, how many Rachels in Africa are now weeping and refusing to be comforted, because their children are not, the man stealer has taken them away? We have asylums for orphans. But who shall gather the uncounted orphans of Africa? Methinks if we could pass over Africa we should see many children weeping over the ashes of their houses, or laying their heads at the feet of their beautiful palm trees to weep over murdered parents, or over the worse fate to which slavery has consigned their parents. I have glanced at the reasons why Africa cannot be radically improved while the slave trade continues. Let me illustrate this still further. Suppose the case of Africa our own. Suppose our country were thrown into apprehension—a hundred towns laid in ashes, and ten thousand of our people carried into hopeless slavery.



Would not our plans of improvement quickly perish? Would not our projects, our roads, schools, banks, courts, be neglected? Would not even our Legislators desert their public duties, to guard their homes and families from the incendiary and man stealer? But such is the condition of Africa,—not for one year only, but for centuries has it been such—and such will it continue to be, until the slave trade shall be abolished. How is this trade to be abolished?

Experience teaches that no laws, no treaties stop it, though much more might be done, than has been done. By laws and treaties it is already denounced, and yet nearly 100,000 slaves are annually taken from Africa, the victims of cormorant never-sated avarice. The slave trade will exist so long as it can exist. So long as there are slave ships, there will be slaves to freight them. No peril of property or life will induce the slave trader to abandon it. To suppress this trade, it must be made physically impossible. We must line the Western coast of Africa, with civilized settlements. Two such already exist. I pass over Sierra Leone.—Ours exerts a two-fold influence. On the one hand, it elevates the neighbouring tribes and enlists them in its suppression; on the other, it presents to the slave trader, whose soul no moral suasion can reach, an effectual barrier. The flag that waves on Cape Montserado, proclaims to the slave trader, that there is one spot, even in Africa, consecrated to freedom—one spot which his polluting foot shall not tread. The single fact, that during the last 12 or 18 months, 100 of the native children have been sent to the schools of the Colony, shows that we have not overrated the happy influence which it exerts on the tribes in its vicinity, and that the slave traders scarce dare to land within fifty miles of the Colony, proves that we have not exaggerated the terrors with which this settlement strikes them, and the power which it exerts for putting down their horrid traffic.

Such are the means and the only means, by which the slave trade can be abolished. And let me add, that it is by the continued operation of these means that Africa is to be enlightened. Every emigrant to Africa (said Mr. Clay) is a missionary going forth with his credentials in the holy cause of Civilization and Religion and free Institutions, and the colonies which we will establish, will be so many points, from which the beams of Christianity and Civilization will radiate on all that black empire of ignorance and sin. These influences must be poured in from the Western coast. The Northern boundary is within the dominion of the false Prophet, and no light is to be expected from that direction. If we look towards its eastern border, we look to the region and shadow of death. I have time but to glance at a few of the reasons which might be adduced in support of my remaining position, that Providence calls upon us to regenerate Africa.

One reason is, that in our colored population, we have most abundant materials, and, from their acquaintance with our excellent Institutions, better materials than are to be found elsewhere for Colonists.

Another reason is, the pressing and vital importance of relieving ourselves as soon as practicable, from this most dangerous element in our population.

Another reason is, that we are under pre-eminent obligations to serve Africa, because we have surpassed all others in afflicting and wronging her. I do not mean the South only, for the time has not been long gone by when Northern merchants found their most lucrative gains from this atrocious traffic. So far from reproaching the South with the evil of her coloured population, I admit that the North owes her exemption, not to a better morality, but to colder skies and a less fertile soil.

I said in my opening remarks, that the blessings our Society will confer on Africa, must reflect immensely favorable, if not indispensable, influences on the direct operations of the Society. It is evident, that, just in proportion as Africa rises in the scale of improvement, will be the desire of our Blacks to return to her. The dread of going to a land of barbarians is now the commonest objection amongst them to our Colonization scheme. But let those barbarians be converted into civilized beings,—and their dread of going to Africa will be converted into a desire to go there. There is another and still more important respect in which this reflect influence is to be viewed. Whence the apathy, that pervades our country in relation to our black population? If the Greeks are suffering, we can feel for them across a space of 5 or 6000 miles, and minister to their necessities. Nor can our handful of Indians suffer real or apparent wrongs, without arousing the sympathies of the Nation.—But who are there to feel for our 2,000,000 Blacks?—more than five-sixths of whom are in bondage, and the other sixth incapable of freedom on our soil. And why are they not more felt for? The ready answer is, because the African race is despised; because of the vague impression, that the descendants of Ham are inherently and naturally inferior to ourselves and others, the self-complacent children of Shem and Japhet. But, let Africa begin to enter upon the redemption of a character, which guilty Christian nations have, for centuries, combined to keep down to the lowest point of degradation; and she will begin to be respected; and the condition of her outcast children on our shores will awaken a livelier sympathy. And when Africa shall have put on the garments of civilization, and the influences of her regeneration shall be felt throughout this land, our most tenacious and obstinate slave-holder will shrink from the relation he bears to her children. The poor creature, whom he formerly regarded as but a few removes above the brute, will now present himself before the new associations of his master's mind as his fellow-man and his equal—and the slave will be permitted to go free. And then will even such slave-holder be as willing as other slave-holders to aid in returning our blacks to their father-land.

I am persuaded, Sir, that here is a point on which I do not say, that our Society should lay its greatest stress and its most sanguine hopes—(for our Society has nothing to do directly with the question of slavery,) but I do say that it is a point, on which they, who desire the abolition of slavery in our country, should lay their greatest stress and their most sanguine hopes. The principle is almost as true in relation to our blacks, as it is to water. They cannot rise above their source. They cannot rise in our esteem above the level of the moral state of the land of their origin—for we are ever associating them with that land, which is their appropriate, their only home. But let Africa become civilized; and there will be the same moral impossibility in the way of our continuing to hold her children in bondage, that we should have to encounter in an attempt to reduce Englishmen or Frenchmen to bondage on our shores. It is because Africa is too ignorant to know that we wrong her. It is because her debasement is so great, that she is insensible to the shame we pour upon her, that we presume to hold her and her people so cheap.—Whilst the honor of civilized nations is alive to the least indignities cast upon their subjects—poor Africa might say, in the language of inspiration: “They have stricken me, and I was not sick; they have beaten me, and I felt it not—when shall I awake?”

We admit that in this way, that is, through the renovation of Africa, the Colonization Society may exert an important influence on the question of slavery—an influence, which may yet compass the abolition of slavery in our land. But, mark you, Sir, it is a way that leads through a change—through the willingness of the master's mind, and, therefore, he cannot object to it. Whilst the Society protests that it has no designs on the rights of the master in the slave—or the property in his slave, which the laws guarantee to him—it does nevertheless admit, and joyfully admit, that the successful prosecution of the object of the Society must produce moral influences and moral changes leading to the voluntary emancipation of the slave, not only in our country, but throughout the world.

I am aware, that there are persons, whom it does not satisfy to know, that our Society has no other object but the removal of our present and future free black population to Africa. The Colonization Society is an offensive Institution to them, because, as they maintain, it agitates the question of slavery. Such persons are unwilling to have the subject of slavery considered even in its most abstract form. But, Sir, the subject of slavery is one, that will be considered: it will be felt on, and thought on, and spoken on. We must first blow out the lights of this age, and turn backward the swift wheel of improvement, and quench the spirit, that is now so fearlessly searching out abuses both in the old world and the new, before such a subject as slavery can be prevented from coming under the public consideration. And the slave-holder, so far from having just cause to

complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself, that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and public action can flow on, without doing violence to his rights. The closing of this channel might be calamitous to the slave-holder beyond his conception: for the stream of benevolence that now flows so innocently in it, might then break out in forms even far more disastrous than Abolition Societies, and all their kindred and ill-judged measures.

It is deeply painful to see how slow the people of our country are to wake up to this subject—a subject having such strong claims on their humane and patriotic and christian feelings. A single glance at these claims, shows that I do not overrate them. I ask, which is the most fruitful, infinitely most fruitful, source of our political dissensions? Do I hear our Southern brethren say, as some of them are accustomed to say—"the North has nothing to do with this subject of black population—and all their solicitude about it, is meddling and officious." I reply, the North has something to do with this subject. The evil is ours as well as theirs; the multitude of blacks in our towns in the North attests, that we have a share in this evil. The fact, that although the black population in our Northern States is probably not more than a fortieth part of our whole population, yet, that about one-sixth to one-fourth of our convicts and paupers are blacks, attests that we have a share in this evil. The severe legislation, (I will not say, that, under all the circumstances, it is too severe)—the severe legislation of the slave states, which drives their emancipated blacks into the free states and scatters the nuisance there, attests that we have a share in this evil. And I ask in all kindness, if, in view of this legislation, it is not with an ill grace that Southern lips rebuke our complaints of this evil? But we will take a more elevated and patriotic view of the subject to show, that the free States share with the slave States in this immeasurable evil. The members of our Republic are so intimately united, that in the language of the Apostle: "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." And when the Northern traitor to the Union says, "let the Southern tier of States, with this immeasurable evil upon them, separate from the Union"—we reply, that the patriot, who loves his country, would as soon consent to lose a member of his person as a portion of that territory, the whole of which is consecrated to his affections—in view of the whole of which it is, that he exclaims with the Poet:

"This is my own, my native land."

And how important is it, as it respects our character abroad, that we hasten to clear our land of our black population? We boast, that our country is the great moral and political light-house of the world, whose beams are guiding the nations of the earth to freedom and happiness. But how much brighter would those beams shine—how much more consistent and powerful would be our example, but for that population with-

in our limits, whose condition, (*necessary* condition, I will not deny) is so much at war with our institutions, and with that memorable national declaration—"that all men are created equal."

In conclusion, what cause is so well suited as the American Colonization Society, to make a powerful appeal to the American Christian? For it is not only the 2,000,000 of blacks in our country, whose spiritual interests it invites him to serve—but it is the hundred millions of immortal beings in Africa, to whom it gives him access. And Africa must be Christianized. When I look at the sins of our country against her, I feel how needful it is for our own sake, that she be Christianized—that she be taught that divine art of forgiveness, which belongs to the Christian only.

Mr. Smith then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society commends itself to great favor by the immense benefits it is conferring on Africa, and by the happy and powerful influences which these benefits must reflect on the direct operations of the Society.

Mr. DODDRIDGE, of Virginia, said,

Mr. PRESIDENT: Not being a delegate to this meeting, I hardly know whether I have a right to offer a Resolution. I have not risen to make an address but to offer a few remarks of a general nature. I have heard much which I highly approve and some things, the utterance of which I regret. Enough has passed to convince all of the duty to aid the designs of this Society. Enough has been said and done by this Society to demonstrate the practicability of its scheme, at no very remote period. While convinced of the duty to promote this enterprise, the means and the constitutionality of applying them are plain and obvious. You, Sir, know that this is not an opinion of mine, of to-day, or of yesterday. Circumstances lead me to mention one historical fact, new perhaps to some. Whatever may be the opinions of others, and of your fellow-citizens of Virginia, as to the necessity and morality of acting, and as to the means required and to be sought, there was a time when the Legislative Councils of Virginia were unanimous. Twenty-three, twenty-five, and twenty-seven years ago, Resolutions were adopted by both Houses of the General Assembly of Virginia, in secret session, which had for their object to call on the President of the United States, to use the treaty-making power, for the acquisition of a Territory in Africa, which might contain the black population of the United States. You have seen the record of these votes, by which, in solemn secret session, the united Councils of Virginia decided as to the duty of acting and the *modus operandi*. Fifteen years ago the power of the General Government was invoked by Virginia for this object, with almost Legislative unanimity. I deem it unnecessary to add to what has been already said. This Resolution will look to the means of acting. While it acknowledges the inadequacy of the present means of the Society, it in-

vokes the Friends of this Institution to press upon the State Legislatures and upon the Congress of the United States the importance of the object and to solicit of them the aids necessary for its accomplishment. In relation to the form in which this aid shall be obtained, I believe that many if not a majority of the citizens of Virginia would be willing to be taxed heavily to aid this Institution. None who know the general feeling will doubt that a tax would be cheerfully borne. I have no constitutional scruples. I would therefore seek the means of prosecuting our enterprise within the avowed and explicit design of the Society,—of acting on such of the colored population now free, or who may become free by no means or measures of ours.

He then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That as this Society is constitutionally bound to co-operate, as far as practicable, in the prosecution of its object, with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject; and as its own unaided power is inadequate to complete the work in which it is engaged, it be recommended to the friends of the Society throughout the country, to prepare and send in memorials in behalf of its object to their respective State Legislatures, and to the Congress of the United States.

The Rev. C. COLTON, of Massachusetts, said,

MR. PRESIDENT: In looking at the unnatural relations between the citizens of these States, and our colored population, and in estimating the comparative increase of the numbers and physical strength of the latter, it is natural if not unavoidable for the philanthropist and statesman to feel a deep concern at the aspects, which the facts of the case present. Our slave population is more than 2,000,000, with an annual increase of 60,000, more or less. The free blacks are nearly 300,000, with an annual increase of six or seven thousand. That this is an evil, no man, in his sober senses, can doubt. It is equally true, that it is a growing, and I hope I may say without offence, a portentous evil. The patriot asks, and humanity asks, where is the remedy?—Is there any remedy within the range of possibility?—any invented?—any instituted?

The only thing, Sir, the only machinery which has been put in operation, or even propounded with hope of success, is the American Colonization Society, whose professed object it is to drain the country of free blacks. And it is a problem yet to be solved, whether any Institution, or measures more hopeful, can be invented and applied to this purpose.

This Society, Sir, was formed in 1816. It has struggled along from that time, passing the ordeals of general indifference, and varied opposition, gradually securing the attention, and gaining upon the sympathies and confidence of the public. In the mean time, and in the very cradle of its infancy, with only two-penny contributions, the mere toy-money of children, it has accomplished one of the most interesting, sublime and hopeful experiments, which the world ever saw. The planting, growth, and successful establishment of the Colony of Liberia, conflicting equally, as it has been obliged, with the warring elements of nature, and with

the groveling and depraved policies of man—policies barbarian and civilized; stands up before the world an unexampled triumph of *principle*. What but principle, Sir, could have originated and sustained so humble, and in view of the giddy and ambitious world, so despicable an enterprise, as this seemed to be in its primitive stage?—What but principle, a sublime and unappreciated moral courage, could have led the heroic Ashmun to that grave of his earthly expectations—and as it has been proved to be, though unforeseen by him, equally the theatre of his immortal honour, as the place of his martyrdom? Sir, when first I read the achievements of that man, it seemed to me like romance;—and I remember to have said:—a few generations to come, and I would rather have the honours of his name as a hero, than the name of Napoleon. And now, Sir, I will add:—that when the once-fragrant renown of the Conqueror of Europe, shall have degenerated into absolute putrescence, the name of the founder of Liberia, will be seen in characters bright and during as the stars, and it will be sung too, a most enviable destiny, by millions of exulting and thankful hearts.

Yes, Sir: the establishment of the Colony of Liberia, is a triumph of *principle*, and that not only in the persevering and unyielding virtue of the instruments, but also in the respect—the reverence, which has been paid to it by an impartial world. Look, Sir. Yonder, on the naked, and exposed coast of Africa—that region of the globe, which knows no law but passion—where the wickedness of man, the most fell and the deadliest, prowls with impunity—*there* stands and flourishes, and is fast rising into importance, a civil and well-ordered community of Africans! And if you ask, what is their government?—The answer is:—*principle*. And if you ask, what is their protection?—The answer is:—the respect of the world. Who, acquainted with the history of that long abused race, does not feel awed in view of such a spectacle?—Every pirate ship that swims the Ocean, and every slave ship (which is also a pirate) *knows*, that the Colony of Liberia has no protection, but the respect of the world—and no law, but the force of her own public opinion. But they dare not fall upon her, even though she is their declared, and often most fatal enemy.

The Colony of Liberia, Sir, is governed and protected by the American Colonization Society—by our voice uttered here, and uttered any where. A strange spectacle, indeed! Who, uncertified of the fact, would believe it?

There is in my mind, a moral grandeur, beaming out from that point of the shore of Africa, which I know not how to express. It is a bright spot, set upon the margin of an immense region, a region overhung for ages uncounted with one unbroken cloud of darkness—a cloud heavy and deep as creation's night. And it is a light, Sir, which this Society has kindled there, and kept burning there, and till this hour it grows brighter and

brighter, and now promises to show its blaze along those shores, and back into those regions, until that deep and vast continent, from Cape de Verde to Gaudelfui, and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, shall stand up disenthralled, emancipated, regenerate. What man, susceptible and ambitious of high endeavour—what nation or people would not covet to participate in such an enterprise?

I humbly think, Sir—and I dare to say, standing even in this august chamber, (and here is the fittest place to say it)—if the Colony of Liberia cannot be *protected* by this nation, she ought to realise its patronage—its efficient patronage;—a patronage, adequate not only to its necessities there, but to drain the mighty flood of coloured population, that is pouring itself upon this land:—to drain it, I mean, so far as would not interfere with the rights of property in the slave, and the freedom of the free,—by wholesome moral inducements—inducements sanctioned by the unanimous voice of all concerned. The act of Congress of 1819, doubtless contemplates this patronage, as well as that it magnanimously recognises the moral obligation of this nation to engage in this work, in consideration of the guilt of our ancestors, in the slave trade—a guilt involving a responsibility entailed upon us their children. If, indeed, there be any responsibility in the common sin of the world, which has been done to Africa, a portion of that responsibility doubtless rests upon this nation;—and the world and God will hold us accountable. And we cannot begin too soon, nor be too earnest in the work of atonement. And as a *political* measure, it is equally the interest, as it is the high and sacred duty of this Republic, to lay its hand upon this mighty evil—to apply all convenient political medicaments to this social and political deformity—a deformity which grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength;—a monster upon the body politic, hideous in its aspects, constraining in its influences on the social system, and absorbing the vital energies of the community.

Were I permitted to use the voice of a legislator within these walls upon this interesting and momentous theme, and if it were necessary, I would invoke the spirit of my country—of her patriotic and mighty dead. Yes, Sir, like the elder Chatham, who was *carried* from his sick chamber to the British House of Lords, that he might enter his solemn protest against a meditated and infamous project in relation to these American Colonies—like *him*, though for a different purpose, I would “invoke,” not alone, nor principally “the Genius of the Constitution;”—but for the purpose of such an occasion, I would especially challenge the Genius of our Declaration of Independence—of that instrument, which, be it remembered, makes a nation’s oath—a nation’s solemn and direct appeal to the high Providence above—an appeal, all the responsibilities of which were assumed in the face of the world, and under the most memorable, dependent, aye, Sir, *dependent*, and affecting circumstances. And then, in view



of those responsibilities, and our circumstances when they were assumed, I would adjure my countrymen to acquit themselves of their duty to the African race.

In the project of the American Colonization Society, Sir, the only question is:—what is its promise, as a remedy for the evil, which it assays to alleviate?—Something we feel must be done, and soon done, and with mighty effort. If there be any other expedient of better promise—why, then, let us have it. But where is it to be found?—If none—here is an actual experiment all made to our hands. The scheme is matured—the door opened, a channel is made—and the tax of transporting every free black in our country, and as fast as they are made free, would not be formidable, in case of the prosperity of the Colony. Nay, on such condition, the motives of emigration might, and in all probability, would by and by become sufficient to sustain the enterprise with little or no draft either on the public Treasury, or on the resources of benevolence. In six weeks any coloured man might earn his passage.

And though the commencement of the enterprise be a public tax, we should regard it as only a small fraction of the mighty debt we owe that land. And there is the *glory* of enlightening and redeeming Africa. Is that nothing? And besides this, the work accomplished, would make the best chapter of political economy, wrought out, that was ever added to our experimental text book. For, who does not know and feel, that besides the portentous aspects of our rapidly accumulating coloured population, the free blacks, by the moral necessity of their civil disabilities are and must forever be a nuisance—equally, and more to the owner of slaves, than to other members of the community. They have no proper motives to ambition, or to elevate their character. And the only effect of the little labour they accomplish is to *vitalize* labour.

If, Sir, we love our country, we shall listen to the claims of this Institution, and of that unfortunate race, whom it has so nobly taken under its patronage. If we feel our own share in the public responsibility for the *injuries* of this race, we shall tremble at the tardiness of this enterprise. For there is a high and mighty Providence above, chaining to his throne, by ties of indissoluble responsibility, the communities and nations of this earth, obliging them, under the most fearful penalties, to the adoption and use of the principles of his own pure and beneficent government.

I imagine, Sir—nay, methinks I see the guardian spirit of Africa—of suffering, bleeding Africa, (if indeed there be a guardian spirit there)—Yes, methinks I see it waking from its long—*long* night—rising from its bed of despair, by the gleam of hope, which *you* have kindled in its bosom, and stretching out its imploring hands to America. And, Sir, it is for *us* to decide the fearful question—whether it shall lift those hands in vain—whether, pierced with disappointment, it shall fall back again into those cruel arms which have so long held it in perpetual agony.

Mr. COLTON then offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the enterprise to which this Society is consecrated, is of such importance to its immediate objects, to our Country, and to the cause of humanity in general, and its want of means to extend its operations and advance its designs, so imperative—as in a peculiar manner, to claim the auxiliary efforts of the Benevolent and the efficient patronage of our General Government.

The Hon. Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey, then said,

Mr. PRESIDENT: At this late hour I beg the privilege of a very few words. The Resolution which I am about to offer, regards the suppression of the slave trade and our duty as christians and as men, with respect to this tremendous evil. As has been stated in the Report, most Christian Nations have united in distinct expressions of abhorrence of this traffic; and several have threatened it with all the penalties of piracy and employed a part of their naval forces to suppress it. In this noble enterprise, England, France and the United States have concurred. But it seems that the occasional interruption to which this trade has been subjected, has but aggravated its enormity, and perhaps increased its extent, and when we consider the spirit which prompts to this trade there is no cause for wonder.

It is avarice which feeds the spirit that animates the slave trade, and we all know that this is of all passions the most base and inveterate. It almost lives beyond the grave.

What cares it for the cries of afflicted humanity!—It has sold its country, betrayed the Saviour, and for thirty pieces of silver it would betray a world. The congregated navies of the world, I fear, can never suppress this traffic. And must we therefore mourn over it and sit down in despair? I trust not. Light begins to beam upon us; Africa pleads her own wrongs, and God in his providence has opened a door for a mighty deliverance. It may be considered as enthusiasm, but I love to cherish such enthusiasm. Let the coast of Africa be once studded with settlements of emancipated and christian men, and a bulwark would be reared against the slave trade more effective than a thousand navies. Was ever it heard that white men were surprised and borne away in slave ships as the subjects of this traffic? The answer and the reason of it point to the mode of relief. We must plead the cause of Africa on her own shores. We must enlighten the Africans themselves on the nature of this evil. We must raise in their minds a fixed abhorrence of its enormities. There will be no ships with human cargoes if we cut off the supply. We must by our settlements point the African kidnapper to a more profitable commerce than that in the blood and heartstrings of his fellow men. This, it will be said, requires time. It *will* require time, but not so many years as bear record against us for our countenance of this horrid commerce. We have one flourishing settlement. And I rejoice to say, in this Legislative Hall of my country, I congratulate here the friends of this Society, that a way is

opening before us by which we may wipe off the stains of guilt that now abide upon us.

He then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting the slave trade is not to be suppressed, without more united and vigorous exertions on the part of the several governments of christendom, and that both Humanity and Religion, invoke all conscientious and enlightened statesmen to consider and adopt more effectual measures, for putting down forever this abominable traffic.

The Hon. Mr. BATES, of Massachusetts, said:

He rose not for the purpose of addressing the Society, but of offering a resolution. As the representative of one of its branches, he had been honoured with an invitation to take part in the discussion of the evening, but he had declined it. Not that he felt no interest in the occasion, nor that the Society he represented felt none: Quite the contrary. The object is great and glorious—one that interests the heart and commands the approbation and the admiration of every friend of the human family—one, however, that will require a great, and concentrated, and mighty effort for its accomplishment, and towards which, what this Society has done, is only preliminary and preparatory. But, he said, considering the State from which he came, the delicate nature of the subject under consideration in its connection and bearing upon other subjects, and the sensitive feeling of a portion of the public in relation to it, he thought he could best subserve the interests of the Society by remaining silent. He remarked that they, in Massachusetts, were willing to follow in the path which we might trace for them—to labor in such a cause whenever, and wherever, and however we might direct, without wishing to dictate or advise. That it was an object deep in the hearts of many of the people of his State, but one with which the people of the South are best acquainted, and in which most interested, and therefore that they were content to act in entire subordination to the views of the Society. He observed that his relation to the Auxiliary Societies required him to state that the Resolution he was about to offer, was put into his hands for that purpose; and he only regretted that those Societies had not higher claims to the acknowledgment it involves. He offered the following Resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the various Auxiliary Societies for their generous efforts and contributions in aid of the great enterprise of this Institution.

On motion of Hon. Mr. WILLIAMS, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be given to the Rev. Clergy of the U. States, for their efficient aid in promoting the objects of this Society, and that they be earnestly solicited to take up collections annually for its benefit, on the 4th of July.

The Meeting drawing near its close, Mr. CUSTIS again addressed the Chair, as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I hope I may be indulged, as an old and faithful servant in the cause, with a few additional remarks. It might appear from some parts of the addresses to which we have listened, that the people of the

Southern States were responsible in their own proper persons, for the evils which have been imposed upon them by others." I rise, Sir, to vindicate my native country.

Let it be remembered, that the evil which we have inherited, was brought upon us against our remonstrances and our prayers, by our ancient Rulers. Sir, it was while our ancestors were British subjects, that this evil was brought upon us. The Colonists remonstrated in their legislative capacity and through the Press; but no, the interest, the revenue of the Mother Country required the trade.

Permit me to say to our Northern friends, that some amiable feelings are to be found in Southern bosoms. We ardently pray to be delivered from the evil of slavery, and hope the hour of deliverance will come.— Let not, then, blows be inflicted, which we do not deserve. I trust that this noble charity has at length opened the way, by which we may be saved from our heaviest calamity. If there is any better mode of acting on this subject, we will honour the discoverer, abandon our views, and adopt his.

Some benevolent minds in the overflowings of their philanthropy, advocate amalgamation of the two classes, saying, let the coloured class be freed, and remain among us as denizens of the Empire; surely all classes of mankind are alike descended from the primitive parentage of Eden, then why not intermingle in one common society as friends and brothers. No, Sir, no. I hope to prove at no very distant day, that a Southron can make sacrifices for the cause of Colonization beyond seas; but for a Home Department in those matters, I repeat, no, Sir, no. What right, I demand, have the children of Africa to an homestead in the white man's country? If, as is most true, the crimes of the white man robbed Africa of her sons, let atonement be made by returning the descendants of the stolen to the clime of their ancestors, and then all the claims of redeeming justice will have been discharged. There let centuries of future rights atone for centuries of past wrongs. Let the regenerated African rise to Empire; nay, let Genius flourish, and Philosophy shed its mild beams to enlighten and instruct the posterity of Ham, returning "redeemed and disenthralled," from their long captivity in the New World. But, Sir, be all these benefits enjoyed by the African race under the shade of their native palms.— Let the Atlantic billow heave its high and everlasting barrier between their country and ours. Let this fair land, which the white man won by his chivalry, which he has adorned by the arts and elegancies of polished life, be kept sacred for his descendants, untarnished by the footprint of him who hath even been a slave. Sir, a mighty appeal is about being made for Africa, both in Europe and here; may it be as successful as the warmest, nay wildest dreams of Poetry or Philanthropy could desire it to be, and new states and nations spring up, and be multiplied; but let them be in the land of the Lion, Sir, not where the Eagle his eyry builds.

At every Anniversary Meeting, there has been cause to congratulate this Society upon its rise, progress, and success; we may now rejoice that the experiment has been fully tried; that the project of colonizing Free Persons of Colour on the Coast of Africa, has been fairly weighed in the balance, and has not been found wanting; for behold, where yesterday stretched a dark and dismal coast, is now heard the busy hum of industry; the arts are there, too, with education, and the blessed influences of Christianity; all, all now flourish, where of late was only the desert gloom of barbarism. And if a few short years have accomplished so much, what may not half a century do. But let us admit that a century will be requisite to complete the mighty work. I repeat, in this Palace of the Supreme Legislature, that no century in the many which I trust will occur in the long enduring age of our Empire, will more proudly adorn the historic page, than that which embraces in its annals the annihilation of slavery.

Sir, permit me to say, that the remarks made by our worthy friend and most liberal benefactor, (Mr. Gerrit Smith,) have done honor to this Association. From that gentleman, we have heard a great deal to admire in feelings and sentiments which are truly American. But let me say, that some allowances should be made for those who, in point of local situation, are not so happy as himself. When from the land where dwells the free-man only, you gaze around you, you behold a country thickly peopled, and all delighting in the business and enjoyment of social and individual life. 'Tis a sunny scene, Sir, without a single cloud to obscure its resplendent sky. Such may our worthy friend enjoy from the heights of Oneida, and long may he live to enjoy it. I greet him well, that his lot has been cast in such "pleasant places," and that his region has not endured the misfortunes of ours. Happier, far happier is his lot, than if a Southern atmosphere had tanned his cheek. Yet, with all our misfortunes, Sir, I hope time will prove, that we have some redeeming qualities; and should Heaven bless our honest endeavours, we shall leave to our posterity, a better inheritance than we received from our ancestors. A new spirit is awakened, and walks abroad in our land. Light shines, and the mists of error are clearing away. We trust that from the influences of this magnificent charity, ours will in time be no longer the land of the slave.

May it please that Providence, which, through so many trials, has preserved the old, the venerable South, the land of genius and patriotism, the home of the high-minded and hospitable, still to protect her destinies, and give speed to this benign Institution, which never will cause to humanity a tear, and may give joy and happiness to millions.

On motion by Rev. Dr. LAURIE, it was

*Resolved*, That the noble resolution and energy, with which the Pennsylvania Society, and especially the citizens of Philadelphia have assisted the endeavours of this Society, deserve to be remembered with gratitude and held up before the public as most worthy of universal imitation.

On motion by W. W. SEATON, Esq. it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Richard Smith, the Treasurer, for his long continued, able and gratuitous services.

On motion by Hon. Mr. WHITTLESEY, seconded by J. S. Benham, Esq.

*Resolved*, That this meeting approves of the consistency with which the Managers have adhered to the originally avowed object of the Society as expressed in its constitution, "the colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of colour of the U. States on the coast of Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient," and that it believes the success of the Society to depend in future on a strict adherence to its original principles.

The following are the remarks of Mr. Benham, on seconding the Resolution:

MR. PRESIDENT: In rising to second the resolution just submitted by my honorable friend from Ohio, it is not my intention to participate in the discussion of the very interesting topics which have been presented for consideration. The benevolence of your noble enterprise—its practicability—its peaceful character—its compatibility with existing rights of dominion, as acknowledged by our political institutions, and its meritorious claims upon the justice, patriotism, and humanity of our country, have been judiciously and eloquently portrayed by the honorable Delegate from New York (Mr. Smith). I trust that gentleman will pardon me for expressing the sincere pleasure and satisfaction I felt, in common I am sure with every friend of Colonization, in listening to his just and statesman-like exposition of the views and objects of your Society. It was indeed, Sir, well calculated to put to flight the unjust suspicions and calumnies which have lately been cast upon it and its friends, from a quarter not anticipated by the patriots under whose auspices it was established. I concur, Sir, in the sentiment which the resolution before you contains, that the present prosperity and ultimate success of this Society depend upon a pertinacious adherence to the principles in which it was originally founded. Its primary object now is, and ever has been, to colonize, with their own consent, *free People of Colour* on the Coast of Africa, or elsewhere, as Congress may deem expedient. And, Sir, I am unwilling to admit, under any circumstances, and particularly in this *Hall*, that it ever has swerved from this cardinal object. It is true, that the friends of African Colonization ever have and do now anticipate that the moral influence of this Association will encourage *voluntary* emancipation; and by removing the evil against which the laws restricting emancipation were intended to guard, induce those States so distinguished for their chivalry and independence, not only to modify or abrogate those laws, but to enact others for the safe and gradual abolition of slavery—and thus in time to obliterate the only stain upon the freedom of our political institutions. It is equally true, Sir, that these sentiments were not only entertained by the primitive patrons of the Society, but promulgated to the world in its

*first Annual Report*, in the speeches of its late much lamented President, (Judge Washington,) of Mr. Clay, of Mr. Randolph—as also in the letters of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Harper. At the first meeting of the friends of Colonization, before your Constitution was adopted, Mr. Randolph remarked, that if a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands, who would by manumitting their slaves relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession. Mr. Jefferson, in the letter referred to, now among the archives of your Society, states, “that he had long made up his mind on the subject of Colonization, and that he had ever thought *that* the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population.” These being the sentiments of the patriotic and pious men who founded this Society, (always, however, protesting against any interference with the existing relations between master and slave,) it was one of the first charges brought against it, by the friends of *abolition*, that it was an ingeniously devised scheme of the slave states, to enhance the value of their slaves, and to *rivet* faster upon them the chains of bondage. The fact, Sir, that African Colonization was, many years before the organization of this Society, a subject of grave and solemn cogitation in the secret sessions of the Legislature of Virginia, and the consequent negotiations of Mr. Jefferson, while President of the U. States, at her request, with the British Colony of Sierra Leone, and the Portuguese, to procure territory for the purpose, abundantly evince the lively interest felt in the ancient dominion. Georgia and South Carolina too, were ranked among our early friends.

I have referred to these facts, which are connected with our early history, to repel a charge lately preferred against us by certain misguided politicians—that your Society has acted *perfidiously*, and in violation of the principles professed by its founders. Sir, it must be apparent to all, that nothing can be more gratuitous, than this accusation. As much as this Society desires to ameliorate the condition of that degraded *caste* of human beings, and to check the growth of that moral and political evil which awakens so much concern, I trust she will ever sedulously abstain from taking a step calculated in the remotest degree to jeopard the domestic tranquillity of any portion of this *Union*; indeed, Sir, to ensure and perpetuate domestic peace and the integrity of our Union, are important *desiderata* in view.

Before I resume my seat, I deem it my duty, as a Representative of one of the oldest Auxiliaries in the West, to assure our friends on this side the mountains, that although the enterprise is gigantic, and our means comparatively small, we are not discouraged. Many of your Western friends are animated by a confidence and a zeal that will not soon be weary in well doing. Ours is a government of opinion, and its population is intel-

ligent and curious; upon the subject of slavery and its concomitant evils the film is fast falling from the eyes of the people—the day cannot therefore be distant, when that which private charity has sown in weakness will be raised in strength, by public munificence. A few years ago the Society I now have the honor to represent, was formed under very inauspicious circumstances, even in the flourishing, public spirited, and enterprising city of Cincinnati. And now Ohio numbers upwards of eighty Auxiliaries. Who that has observed our prosperity within the last few years is so faint-hearted as to expect the dimming of our little *star*, which now shines between the burning tropics. Sir, Ethiopia must be civilized—until she is, we shall pray in vain for the abolition of the slave trade—or that her rights will be respected, or her wrongs redressed. Until the arts and sciences shall take root in her soil—until the gory crescent of Mahomet shall be supplanted by the *Cross*, her wailings and lamentations will not reach us—they will die away upon the ocean as they have done for centuries, like the scream of the lone sea-bird, for the want of a moral momentum to waft them across it.

On motion by Rev. WM. HAWLEY, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Hon. C. F. Mercer, for the able and dignified manner with which he has presided over the deliberations of this Society on its 14th Anniversary.

The Society then adjourned.



## OFFICERS.

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RICHARD SMITH, Esq. *Treasurer.*

JOHN UNDERWOOD, Esq. *Recorder.*

## REPORT.

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So brief and uncertain is the period of human life, that each successive Anniversary of this Society must be expected to bring with it, the painful duty of recording the decease, and rendering an humble tribute of respect to the memory of some of its most valued members.

On this occasion, the Managers would do violence to their own feelings as well as injustice to the Society, were they to omit the expression of their sorrow for the loss of one of the earliest, ablest, and most devoted friends to this Institution. The character of William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. of Virginia, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, exhibited a rare combination of those intellectual and moral qualities which command esteem and admiration in private, and honor and success in public life.

Blest with an ample fortune and a richly endowed mind, and having enjoyed the advantages of the best education and the most refined society, Mr. Fitzhugh came before the public with the fairest promise and the brightest hopes. In the House of Delegates, in the Senate, and more recently in the Convention of Virginia, his political knowledge and his eloquence in debate, not less than the purity of his motives, the urbanity of his manners, and the candour and magnanimity of his disposition awakened universal respect, and secured for his opinions that consideration and influence which few men at his period of life are so fortunate as to acquire. The design of this Society early commended itself to the thoughts and affections of Mr. Fitzhugh, as extremely interesting to his native State, important to the Nation, and admirably adapted to produce results which must gratify

alike the humane, the philanthropic, and the christian mind. A citizen, and the proprietor of a large estate in the South, he could discern, neither in the principles nor proceedings of this Society, any thing unfriendly to the rights or injurious to the interests of our Southern communities. At the time when, to this Institution few gave their countenance and fewer their support, when it was pronounced worthless by some, and dangerous by others, when its means were scanty and its operations embarrassed, Mr. Fitzhugh was ever ready to advocate its claims and contribute to aid its resources. Nor were his efforts the effect of a short-lived enthusiasm. He continued, on all proper occasions, to stand forth as the fearless and eloquent defender of the views of the Society, and by his resolutions submitted to the general meeting at its ninth anniversary, by his letter addressed to the Secretary of the Society in 1826, and by his essays under the signature of Opimius, which appeared during the same year in the *Richmond Enquirer*, he explained the principles, demonstrated the practicableness, and enforced the importance of the enterprise in which it is engaged. Fully convinced that this enterprise merited the patronage of the Nation, he showed, conclusively, that to assist it would well accord with the spirit of the constitution, and with the uniform practice of the Federal Government. Suddenly has he fallen in all the vigour of his intellect and strength of his manhood; and honor, and friendship, patriotism, and philanthropy have wept over his tomb. Be it ours to emulate his virtues and sacredly and forever to cherish within our hearts the memory of his worth.

It was mentioned in the last report of the Managers that the State Society of Pennsylvania had come forward with great resolution and energy to assist the enterprise of this Institution, and that in consequence, the brig *Liberia*, Capt. Sherman, had been chartered to convey emigrants to the Colony. This vessel, having on board Dr. J. W. Anderson, Assistant Agent and Physician to the Colony, two

Swiss Missionaries, with fifty-eight coloured passengers, forty-nine of which were liberated slaves, sailed from Hampton roads on the 16th of January, and arrived at Liberia on the 27th of the next month. Thirty slaves liberated by Joel Early, Esq. of Georgia, and which were expected to embark in this vessel, did not arrive at Norfolk until some days after her departure. This circumstance, together with the encouraging evidences of liberality on the part of the public, and especially of the citizens of Philadelphia, induced the Board soon after to charter the brig *Montgomery*, Capt. Winby; which, with seventy emigrants, sixty-four of which were liberated slaves, sailed from Norfolk on the 29th of April, and arrived at the Colony early in June. The entire expense of the passage and provisions of the liberated slaves in these expeditions, amounting to \$3,214 22, was defrayed by the Pennsylvania Society. The emigrants by these two vessels were landed in good health, but the fever with which they were afflicted soon after their arrival, proved uncommonly severe, and owing to various causes, but more particularly to imprudence and the want of medical attentions, in consequence of the early and lamented death of Dr. Anderson, the only Physician in the Colony, a considerable number fell victims to its power.

Almost immediately after the arrival of the *Liberia*, the Colonial Agent, Dr. Mechlin, who had long suffered from the disease of the climate, was compelled to take passage for the United States, and upon Dr. Anderson, then in health, was devolved the administration of the Government and affairs of the Colony. The duties of the Colonial Agency, were for several weeks, honourably and successfully discharged by this estimable man, who on the 12th of April, after an illness of ten days, was removed from his earthly labours to his eternal reward.

If a sound understanding and much practical good sense, if modesty of deportment and kindness of disposition, if unbending integrity and a holy devotedness to the interests of

mankind and the cause of God, if these entitle the dead to the remembrances of the living, the name and the virtues of Dr. Anderson are secure from oblivion. He has gone indeed to that blest company, who have cheerfully sacrificed life in the work of benevolence and the service of Christ, but whose example survives them and shall stand as a memorial of them unto all generations.

Nor here can the Managers pass without notice, the decease of the Rev. George M. Erskine, a man of colour from the State of Tennessee and a minister in the Presbyterian Church, from whose exemplary and pious efforts, great good was reasonably expected. Originally a slave, Mr. Erskine, by his industry and good conduct, obtained both his own freedom and that of his family, and, with few advantages of education, the ability to preach the gospel in a respectable and useful manner. A deep concern for the welfare of his Brethren, induced him to emigrate to Liberia, and his death must be regarded as one of those events, the reasons for which are mysteriously concealed by the Divine Wisdom from the understandings of mortals.

On the 4th of March, after a passage of five months, (the ignorance of the Captain who had engaged to transport them having compelled the Agent to abandon his vessel and charter a British Brig at the Island of Barbadoes) arrived at the Colony ninety-one recaptured Africans sent out by the Government of the United States. These persons, together with the emigrants by the Liberia and Montgomery, have been settled for the present at Caldwell and in its vicinity; and of the slaves emancipated by Mr. Early, only two small children, and of the ninety-one recaptured Africans not an individual died, from the effects of climate. Of the latter (who had been residing in the state of Georgia) "I cannot perceive (says the Agent) that the climate has any effect upon them. They have all been placed on lands assigned to them, and have already constructed twenty superior country houses, thatched in a manner peculiar to them-

selves and far surpassing those of the natives. As regards the old ones of this class, I consider them as the most independent men whom we have. Could you behold their neat town of New Georgia, you would be delighted, and could hardly believe that these were the individuals, who when in the United States in a state of bondage had no thought for the morrow. They supply our town with vegetables, mellons, fowls, &c. &c. The readiness with which their sales have been effected, has given a spur to their industry."

The Colonial Agent, Dr. Mechlin, in hopes that his health might be improved by the voyage, returned to the United States in the month of May. A relaxation from his labours, and the air of his native land, soon restored his strength; and having enjoyed for several months the society of his friends, communicated much valuable information to the Board of Managers, conferred with them and received their instructions on all subjects relative to the affairs of the Colony, he took passage for Liberia on the 20th of October.

During his absence, the duties of the Colonial Agency, were, after the death of Dr. Anderson, performed by the Vice-Agent, Mr. Anthony D. Williams, in a faithful, prudent and energetic manner.

The visit of Mr. Francis Devany, one of the earliest and most respectable of the Colonists, to the United States during the last spring, afforded the Managers and the public an opportunity to learn from a man of colour, worthy of entire confidence, many interesting facts in regard to the feelings, condition and prospects of the settlers in Liberia. Mr. Devany arrived in Washington at the time when a memorial of the Society to Congress, was under the consideration of a Committee of that body, and at the request of the Chairman of that Committee, several gentlemen from both Houses assembled to hear his testimony, in reply to the various questions proposed to him concerning the state, interests, and progress of the Colony. Mr. Devany stated that the health and morals of the Colo-

nists are, in general, good; that no capital crime had ever been committed in the Colony; that instances of intemperance are extremely rare, that in Monrovia there are three churches; that divine service is attended thrice on Sunday, also on Tuesday and Thursday evenings; that many native children attend the Sunday Schools; that their parents in the neighbourhood are adopting our mode of dress; that the climate is mild and uniform, the thermometer never falling below 68° and seldom rising above 88°; that the soil is cultivated with ease; that much of the country is finely wooded and abounds with valuable ship timber; that coffee (similar to that of Java) is among the products of the country; that many of the houses are built of stone; others of logs weatherboarded, that some of these are painted white and have green venetian blinds; that provisions were plenty and the Colonists generally well satisfied with their condition; that much emulation prevails, each settler endeavouring to push his own fortune by all fair and honourable means; that there are six volunteer companies in uniform, beside militia, amounting in all to about 500 men; that the Colony is nevertheless not in a state of complete defence, owing to the unfinished condition of the fortifications, and to the fact that some of the guns need to be remounted; that the harbour is seldom without a vessel and is deemed the best along the coast, and that while the slave trade is prohibited by the severest penalties on the Territory under the Colonial jurisdiction, it is still carried on in its immediate vicinity.

This meeting, the Managers are confident, will rejoice to learn, that the chief and people of one of the native tribes in the neighbourhood of the Colony, have sought the protection and placed themselves under the authority of the Colonial government. The intelligence that their offers of submission were accepted, was received by them, says the Colonial Agent, with shouts of joy, and they could scarcely be restrained from coming down in a body to visit us the

same afternoon. They now feel themselves secure from the dangers of slavery, and are no longer exposed to attacks from their enemies; they are delivered from the power of many despotic laws and barbarous customs, and there is reason to hope that they will soon acquire civilized habits and learn to appreciate the benefits of knowledge and Christianity. Numerous other tribes, it is believed, are disposed to imitate this example; but as they are more remote, it is questionable, perhaps, whether the Colonial government could with propriety at this time extend over them its superintending care. But the Managers trust, that at no distant period the Colony, conscious of its ability to comply with the solicitations of these poor Africans, who stretch out their hands for help and would find a refuge within its limits, shall encourage them to renounce the vices and superstitions of their Fathers, and under the protection of its wholesome laws and the influences of a pure faith, to acquire that character and those blessings which are alone worthy of the nature and destiny of man.

The Managers alluded in their last Report to some attempts which had been made to explore the interior, and to ascertain the resources of the country, and the character of the more remote African population. It was mentioned that several persons had visited and been kindly received by King Boatswain, a chief of much power and influence, whose principal town, by the usual route, was distant one hundred and fifty miles from Monrovia. It gives the Managers pleasure to state, that a new road has recently been opened and completed from Millsburg to the country of Boatswain, which will reduce the distance to eighty or ninety miles, and, as merchandize can be transported one-third of the way by water, add greatly to the trade and intercourse with the interior. The existence and advantages of the Colony are becoming known to distant tribes, and every year may be expected to open new sources of information to the curiosity and new avenues of commerce and of wealth to the enterprise of the colonists.



The Agricultural interests of the Colony, which have been too long and too generally neglected, begin, the Managers have reason to think, to be regarded as of primary importance. A number of the colonists have for years applied themselves industriously to the cultivation of the soil, but in too many instances have the hopes of great and immediate profit by trade occasioned inattention to the slower but surer advantages of Agricultural labour. On a visit to Caldwell in the month of March the Colonial Agent was "particularly struck by the progress made by the Harriet's people in the cultivation of their farms, which, had he not known to the contrary, he would have supposed had been occupied by them for at least two or three years." The whole place, he observes, "is in a high state of cultivation, and the inhabitants by their industry and attention to their Agricultural pursuits, have placed themselves above want." In a communication dated in September last he states "that a new spirit is pervading the community, many begin to think that the cultivation of the soil may not be so unprofitable as they have been in the habit of considering it. It is discovered that they cannot all be petty merchants to advantage." Convinced as are the Managers that more general attention to Agriculture is essential to the permanent prosperity of the Colony, they have been anxious to encourage the efforts of those settlers, who have manifested a determination to engage and persevere in this laudable pursuit, and to excite others to imitate their example. They have therefore adopted a more liberal system in the distribution of lands, and instructed the Colonial Agent to allow to each emigrant residing at a distance of more than three miles from the towns, fifty acres for himself and family, with the privilege of purchasing within five years thereafter, at the rate of twenty-five cents an acre, fifty adjacent acres. They have also empowered him to make a donation to any colonist or association of colonists, of a quantity of land not exceeding 500 acres, on condition that the same be appropriated to the culture of coffee, cotton and the sugar cane.

The commerce of the Colony, is rapidly increasing, and at one time, during the last summer, were seen in the harbour of Monrovia, five square-rigged vessels—three English, one French, and one American. Several small vessels are owned by the colonists, and constantly engaged in trade along the coast. Several of the emigrants have been very successful in business, and in the course of a few years, placed themselves in circumstances of ease and independence. The Managers have reason to believe, that the love of trade has been excessive, and that many have been induced to engage in it, from expectations of immediate gain, whose information and previous habits gave them little ability, for such employment. The Managers trust that experience has taught them wisdom, and that they will hereafter seek to obtain a livelihood by the cultivation of the soil.

The Managers have heard, with regret, that the Schools of the Colony, have received neither adequate countenance or support, and that the settlers, generally, manifest no due sense of the importance of preparing their children, by education, for influence and usefulness in life. Solemnly convinced, that without a system of education, the benefits of which may be enjoyed by every child, the great ends for which the Colony was established can never be accomplished, the Managers have instructed the Colonial Agent to carry such a system into immediate effect.—Permanent School-houses are to be erected at Monrovia, Caldwell and Millsburg, towards each of which the Managers have resolved to advance one hundred dollars, provided three hundred be raised, for the same object, by the Colonists themselves; and in the same proportion, should a less sum only be required. At present, the proceeds of the sales of all public lands, of licenses, and fines, together with five hundred dollars annually from the funds of the Society, (or such portion of them as may be necessary) are to be applied to the support of these Schools, over each of

which, five trustees are to have constant supervision, and of all the affairs of which, the Colonial Agent is required, semi-annually, to transmit to the Society a full and detailed account. In a recent address transmitted to Liberia, the Managers endeavoured to impress the Colonists with the absolute necessity of bringing their children under the tuition of competent instructors, and to make them sensible, that all hopes of good, for their posterity, are depending upon a well-conducted system of education. This meeting will be gratified to know, that a news-paper, edited by Mr. J. B. Russwurm, a very intelligent and well-educated man of colour, is now issued from the Liberian press.— Though the earliest numbers were printed on paper, injured by long exposure to a damp atmosphere, the Managers are happy to state that fifty reams of fine paper, have recently been sent out by the same liberal Gentleman in Boston, from whom the Press, as a donation, was formerly received. This paper will afford much useful information, concerning the affairs of the Colony, and the productions and population of other parts of Africa; it is the third, the Managers believe, which has been published, on the Western Coast of that Continent, and they hail its appearance, as a new evidence that the lights of Knowledge and Religion, are breaking in upon the darkness, and must finally dispel the gloom of that wide empire of superstition and crime.

Serious apprehensions, have been expressed, during the year, by many Friends of the Society, that great evils would arise, both to the settlers and the native Africans, from the introduction of ardent spirits, as an article of use and of trade at the Colony. The Managers have felt these apprehensions to be well founded, and though, owing to the fact that the natives frequently refuse to trade when this article is denied to them, and to the fact, that they can always obtain it elsewhere, provided they cannot at the Colony, the subject is attended with difficulties, they have

sought to do all in their power to meet the views and accomplish the wishes of the friends of Temperance. They have earnestly recommended to the Colonists the formation of Temperance Societies, on the principle of entire abstinence, and wholly to discontinue the use of ardent spirits, in trade with the natives, and have also instructed the Colonial Agent to aid and encourage them, in all measures which may tend to secure these objects.

The Managers have reason to fear, that a sudden elevation of privileges and circumstances, and the rapid acquisition of property, have produced, to some extent among the settlers, a spirit of emulation, display, and extravagance unfavorable to the moral and religious interests of the Colony. The Colonists have much to learn even in regard to their own interests, and perhaps in no school can they be taught so effectually as in that of experience. The Managers believe, that they will soon be convinced, that economy, moderation, and sober expectations will best promote their private happiness and the public welfare.

Some appalling facts in regard to the Slave Trade have come to the knowledge of the Board of Managers during the last year. With undiminished atrocity and activity is this odious traffic now carried on all along the African coast. Slave factories are established in the immediate vicinity of the Colony, and at the Gallinas (between Liberia and Sierra Leone) not less than 900 slaves were shipped during the last summer, in the space of three weeks. While all Christian Governments have expressed their abhorrence of this trade, they have done comparatively nothing for its suppression. The voice of injured and bleeding humanity has long called for vigorous and united action on this subject, but it has called in vain. Thousands of human beings have perished in agony, perished as the victims of the most unrelenting injustice and cruelty, inflicted by citizens of Christian States, and yet the powers of Christendom, well knowing the fact, have felt no adequate sympathy and made no ener-

getic efforts to save them. There is reason to hope, however, that the recent dominion of public opinion in the most enlightened nations of Europe, will induce the eminent men now invested with authority to redeem the pledges they have repeatedly given, as well since as before their elevation, to exert faithfully the powers with which they are clothed, to put down this great scandal of the world. We know that Lafayette has never made a promise which he has not fulfilled, and we have every reason to believe that the English Ministry will engage with zeal in this righteous cause, nor suffer itself to be outdone by any other power. Might we not hope that before the united efforts of England, France, and America, this nefarious traffic would be made to disappear forever? The Managers beg leave here to repeat the opinion of the late Dr. Randall, which was expressed in their last Report, "that the effectual method for breaking up this traffic, would be to send upon the coast, light, well-armed and fast-sailing schooners, which might touch at those places whence the slaves are taken, and which should relieve each other and remain upon the coast the whole year: they should be accompanied by one or two sloops of war, with a force sufficient to break up the Slave Factories." The Managers are persuaded that no subject, more than this, demands the earnest and immediate attention of all humane and conscientious Statesmen, and of all the friends of mankind.

At the last Anniversary, the Board alluded, with heartfelt interest, to the noble spirit of Christian enterprise which had prompted the friends of God and man in Switzerland, as well as in the United States, to endeavor to establish Missions in Liberia, and to instruct the native Africans in the doctrines and duties of Christianity. It was then stated that the Basle Missionary Society had appointed four additional Missionaries to the Liberia station, and that on their way to the Colony, they had visited the United States, in the hope of exciting interest in the cause, and securing funds for the work to which they were devoted. Of those

Missionaries three have been summoned to the eternal world; so that three only, of the whole number under the direction of that Society, now remain to speak to the degraded Africans the words of eternal life. If it be honorable to die for one's country, honored, surely, should be the memory of those who have fallen amid their labours to impart to the strangers and barbarians of a distant clime, divine knowledge and the immortal hopes of the Gospel.

Two Missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Skinner, have recently embarked for the Colony, under the authority of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, and several men of colour are now preparing to go out as ministers and teachers, under the patronage of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society of the United States. The Young Men's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, in the City of New York, has been touched by the appeals from Africa, and only waits to find an individual qualified and disposed to give himself to the work of her moral illumination. In all these movements, may be discovered the omens of a better dispensation to a people too long crushed by the powers and unvisited by the sympathies of the Christian world.

In directing the attention of this meeting to the progress of opinion and effort in this country favourable to the objects of this Society, the Managers see much to animate their hopes and exertions. It is unquestionable that the scheme of the Society is rapidly and extensively gaining strength in the public confidence and affection. In almost every section of the Union, is distinctly heard the voice of an approving people uttering their high and solemn purpose to carry forward the cause of this Institution to an honourable and illustrious triumph.

Three Agents, the Rev. H. B. Bascom, of Kentucky, Josiah F. Polk, Esq. of this city, and recently, Robert S. Finley, Esq. of Ohio, have, during the year, been very actively and successfully engaged in explaining the views, enforcing the claims and obtaining aid to the design of this

**Society.** The formation of about eighty Auxiliary Societies, and the addition by Mr. Bascom, of more than one thousand names to associations previously existing, are perhaps among the least benefits resulting from their judicious and well-directed efforts. Truths have been told, arguments stated, principles developed, thoughts and emotions awakened, before the power of which, prejudice must yield, opposition relent, ignorance be humble, and generous and candid minds kindle and glow with holy enthusiasm for a cause clearly seen to be connected with the reputation and welfare of our country, and with all the hopes and interests of Africa.

A brief statement of facts in relation to the Society, prepared and published during the Spring, by the Society of Inquiry in the Theological Institution at Andover, and subsequently republished and widely circulated among the Clergy by the Board of Managers, doubtless contributed to increase the number and value of the collections on the Fourth of July; nor can the Managers allude to these collections without expressing their obligations to the Clergy and Churches that have given such substantial proofs of their charity, and their hope that each successive year will bring with it similar additional evidence of their gratitude for our National blessings, and of their desires to extend to others the benefits of freedom, knowledge and religion.

Among the Presbyterian denomination in Virginia, an effort has been made to raise funds for the purpose of erecting a Presbyterian church in the Colony, with a fair prospect of success. Several additional subscriptions have recently been obtained, on the plan of Mr. Gerrit Smith, and the Managers are unwilling to believe, that among all the liberal in the United States, a sufficient number will not be found to supply those which are still deficient.

Two vessels have recently been despatched for the Colony, the ship *Carolinian*, which sailed with Dr. Mechlin, the Colonial Agent, Dr. Humphries, Physician and Assistant

Agent, and one hundred and six coloured persons, 45 of whom were liberated slaves; and the brig Volador, in which embarked Dr. George P. Todsén, Physician, and eighty-one emigrants, about forty of which were freed, with a view to their colonization in Africa. Much disease and suffering have heretofore been experienced, which might have been prevented by good medical advice, and the Managers have deemed it a duty, therefore, by the employment of two respectable physicians, to do all in their power to preserve the lives and health of the Colonists.

The entire expense of the transportation of the liberated slaves by the Carolinian and Volador, is defrayed by the Pennsylvania Society, which has, in repeated instances, exhibited a noble spirit of resolution and liberality, in promoting the design of this Institution. Nor can the Managers forget with what untiring zeal and energy, Mr. Elliot Cresson, one of the members of that Society, has directed his endeavours to excite favourable sentiments, and secure funds for the African cause. Three hundred and fifty pounds sterling have been received by the Pennsylvania Society from benevolent individuals in England. One hundred pounds of this sum was given by a widow Friend, who is represented as "only rich by the fewness of her own wants, and the readiness with which she ministers to the wants of others."

The hearts and hands of many ladies in our own land have become engaged in this work of mercy, and their influence and charity are regarded by the Board as among the most cheering omens of its final and complete success.

The disposition of the free people of colour to emigrate to Liberia, in the lower part of Virginia, and especially in North Carolina, is becoming strong and prevalent, and many stand ready to embark by the earliest opportunity.

A bill is at this time before the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, which proposes that a tax should be laid upon all the Coloured population of the State for the pur-



pose of raising a fund for the removal of that portion already free.

In the Senate of Louisiana, during its last session, resolutions were adopted expressive of the opinion, that the object of this Society was deserving of the patronage of the General Government; and it is hoped that during the present session of the Legislature, they will receive the sanction of the House of Representatives.

The Select Committee in the House of Representatives, to which the memorial of the Society to Congress, at its last session, was referred, made a favourable report, and recommended an appropriation of twenty-five dollars for the removal of each free person of Colour in the U. States, who might be disposed to emigrate to Liberia, and ten dollars additional, in case the individual was far distant from the port of embarkation, provided the annual expenditure should not exceed fifty thousand dollars. The bill brought in by this Committee, has not yet been called up for consideration in the House.

The application made by this Society, for countenance and aid to the Federal Government, has been charged upon it as a departure from its original principles. But can it have been forgotten, that the second article of the Constitution of the Society, declares that it shall act to effect its object in co-operation with the General Government, and with such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject? Can it have been forgotten, that, previous to the existence of the Society, the State of Virginia expressed through its Assembly a desire that the General Government should obtain a Territory on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, which might serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as were then free and for such others as might thereafter be emancipated? Can it have been forgotten that the very first resolution of the Society was to appoint a Committee to present a respectful memorial to Congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as might be thought

most adviseable for procuring a territory in Africa, or elsewhere, suitable for the colonization of the free people of Colour?

It is said that this Society interferes with the rights, and is subverting the interests of proprietors of slaves. The Society transports only the free. It claims for itself no right, it claims for the Federal Government no right, to compel directly or indirectly a single individual in the United States to emancipate his slaves. The Society has no power; it desires none but its moral influence.

Some, perhaps, may think that the expenditures which have been made in establishing the Colony of Liberia, have far exceeded the good which has been attained. And did not thousands who saw the immortal Fulton endeavouring to propel boats by steam, consider the money which his experiments cost, to be wasted? But by what arithmetic shall we calculate the value of the result of these experiments to his country and the world.

It is only necessary to consult the statements of the expenditures on account of the Colony of Liberia, that have been regularly laid before the public, to demonstrate the utter fallacy of that reasoning, that, from narrow views and mistaken facts, would attempt to throw a cloud on the management of its concerns. Errors may have been committed, but what great object has ever been effected without their occurrence? It is enough to say, and it may be said with heartfelt satisfaction, that this object, in which glory and utility go hand in hand; this object, of which it is difficult to decide whether beneficence to a degraded race, or the exaltation of national character is its highest illustration, has so far been achieved, at a less expense of blood or money either to the Government or to individuals, than any Colony that has ever been established. Economy should be the concomitant equally of public and private pursuits, and the Managers invite the attention of the public to their disbursements, which, with this view, are regularly spread before

them. But while these are honestly administered, let no one undertake, without knowledge, to throw into the scale dollars and cents on the one hand, and the numerical strength of the Colony on the other. It is in the commencement of great undertakings that difficulties most abound. They have, in this case, been overcome, at the cost of a few hundred thousands of dollars, consisting of spontaneous contributions, and the incidental aid of the Government, which, although of inestimable value, has not, in a period of fourteen years, exceeded the cost of a single frigate of the lowest class. And where is the man bold enough to say that the benefit does not infinitely transcend the price? Sordid must be that spirit and lost to the purest as well as noblest impulses of the human heart, that would part with the benefit, for the expense incurred in its acquisition.

He, who two centuries hence, shall look abroad upon reclaimed and regenerated Africa, behold her cultivated fields and smiling harvests; her well-built cities, and rivers white with the sails of commerce; her schools and churches; and see elevated high above her civilized and joyful population, the ensign of freedom and the banner of the Cross, will more justly estimate and feel the importance of the efforts of this Society.

*American Colonization Society in account current with Richard Smith, Treasurer.*

**DR.**

To cash for collecting emigrants.....	\$ 338 91	
cash for transportation and provision of emigrants and supplies for the Colony	11,113 39	
salaries of Agents at the Colony.....	1,250	
salaries of Officers of the Society at home..	2,893 37	
office rent, stationary, printing, and contin- gencies .....	1,460 62	
interest on money borrowed .....	45 33	
loans to Society paid off .....	2,516	
support of Cecil Ashmun and Washington Davis .....	520 30	
loss on uncurrent and counterfeit money..	13	
balance, including \$92 counterfeit money	7,056 07	
		<u>\$27,209 39</u>

**CR.**

By balance from last year, (\$76 counterfeit) \$	635 88	
donations from individuals ....	3,806 37	
Auxiliary Societies, .....	5,712 46	
annual subscriptions .....	91	
collections by Agents .....	2,153 09	
4th of July collections .....	10,973 13	
life member subscriptions .....	867 46	
subscriptions on plan of Gerrit Smith....	2,850	
subscriptions to African Repository.....	130	
		<u>\$27,209 39</u>

By balance as per contra, including \$92 counterfeit money, \$7,056 07  
E. E.

**RICHARD SMITH,**

*Treasurer American Colonization Society.*

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1831.

## APPENDIX.

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(No. 1.—Page 13.)

WE have mentioned the able and successful exertions of several Agents, who have been employed by the Society during the year. They have done honour to themselves, and greatly advanced the cause to which they have been devoted. It is believed, however, that the establishment of Permanent Agencies, each of which shall embrace within its limits several States, will conduce essentially towards carrying into effect a well-organized system of operations throughout the Union. Three Permanent Agents have already been appointed by the Managers, for the three several fields of New England and New York—Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan Territory—New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and District of Columbia.

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(No. 2.—Page 14.)

The Fourth-of-July Collections during the last year amounted to \$10,973 13. May we not hope that these Collections will hereafter take place in every Congregation of every Religious Denomination of our Country?

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(No. 3.)

### *Original Principles of the Colonization Society.*

From an article which appeared in a late number of the African Repository, we publish the following extracts, developing the true principles and character of the Society. In allusion to the opposition to the Society, manifested in one or two States, the writer inquires:—

*Can it be attributed to any departure of the Society from its avowed original design and principles? We maintain that it cannot; we maintain that the character*

of the Society, has from the commencement been uniformly the same, and that its proceedings have been consistent with its character.

*Were or are the designs and principles of the Society hostile to the rights and interests of the Southern States?* We maintain that they were not and are not; but on the contrary, are worthy to be cherished by the citizens of these States, and to be sustained with all their energies as means of their political and moral strength.

In order to ascertain whether or not the Society has departed from its avowed original design and principles, what this design and these principles were at its origin must first be understood. *Let us seek for information on this subject from the Constitution of the Society, interpreted by the recorded opinions, and by the acts of its Founders.* We might here allude to the character of these men, who engaged most earnestly and actively in establishing our Institution, and ask is there an individual who dare to question their integrity, their patriotism, or their honour? Is there a generous Carolinian who would cast reproach upon the memories of such men as *Caldwell and Finley, of Washington, Harper and Fitzhugh?* These names are sacred. Of those still living, their associates in laying the foundations of this Society, we say only, that if they are not incapable of deception, confidence should not be placed in human virtue.

It should not be forgotten that several years previous to the organization of this Society, the subject of African Colonization had been considered in the Legislature of Virginia; that the Governor (Mr. Monroe) had been requested to correspond with Mr. Jefferson, (then President of the United States) in regard to it; that the idea met the entire approbation of the President; that efforts made by him to secure a home for the Free People of Colour in the United States, at Sierra Leone, proved unsuccessful, as did also the attempt to obtain territory for them from the Portuguese in South America; and finally that Resolutions in favour of renewed exertions were adopted by the Virginia Legislature three several times before December 1816, when this body, by an almost unanimous vote, expressed its desire that the general government "might obtain territory on the Coast of Africa, or at some other place not within the territorial limits of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated." Nor should it be forgotten that most of those who assembled to form the Society, and all who expressed their sentiments on that occasion, were slave-holders; nor does there appear to have existed at the time a suspicion that their motives were unworthy, or their acts reprehensible. The lofty State of Virginia had taken the lead, which none seemed to have imagined that it would be unwise or unsafe to follow.

The second Article of the Society declares that "the object to which its attention is to be exclusively devoted, is to promote and execute a plan for Colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of colour, residing in our Country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. *And the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.*" Before the adoption of the Constitution, at the very first meeting of the Society, Mr. Clay observed that "it was not proposed to deliberate on, or consider at all any question of emancipation," and Mr. Randolph of Virginia expressed a similar opinion, while at the same time he remarked, "if a place could be provided for their reception and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession. The

First Annual Report contains the opinions of the Founders of this Society, expressed in the most clear and unambiguous language—

Judge Washington observed in his Address,

"As little can be apprehended by the proprietor, who will not voluntarily avail himself of the opportunity which this settlement will afford him, of emancipating his slaves, without injury to his country. The effect of this Institution, if its prosperity shall equal our wishes, will be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic Society; and should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow, but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political Institutions the only blot which stains them; and in palliation of which we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity, until we shall have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction."

On motion of Mr. Clay, a letter dated in 1811, from Mr. Jefferson, was read, in which he states that he had "long ago made up his mind on the subject of Colonization, and that he had ever thought that the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population." Having mentioned his negotiations during his Presidency, with England and Portugal, he adds: "*Indeed, nothing is more to be wished than that the United States, would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the Coast of Africa.*"

Mr. Mercer, alluding to the Virginia Resolution, said, "many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction, that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity without manifest injury to their Country. The laws of Virginia now discourage, and very wisely, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves. But the very policy on which they are founded, will afford every facility to emancipation, when the Colonization of the slave will be the consequence of his liberation."

Mr. Clay said, "let the Colony once be successfully planted, and legislative bodies, who have been grieved at the necessity of passing those prohibitory laws, which, at a distance, might appear to stain our codes, will hasten to remove the impediments to the exercise of benevolence and humanity."

General Harper, in his letter, published in the first Report of the Society, after remarking upon various benefits to be expected from the Society, uses the following language: "It tends, and may powerfully tend to rid us gradually and entirely, in the United States, of slaves and slavery; a great moral and political evil of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is justly apprehended. It is in this point of view, I confess, that your scheme of Colonization most strongly recommends itself, in my opinion, to attention and support.—This great end is to be attained in no other way than by a plan of universal Colonization, *founded on the consent of the slave-holders*, and of the Colonists themselves. For such a plan, that of the present Colonization Society opens and prepares the way, by exploring the ground, selecting a proper situation, and planting a Colony, which may serve as a receptacle, a nursery and a school for those that are to follow. It is in this point of view, that I consider its benefits as the most extensive and important, though not the most immediate."

But we were not merely to refer to the Constitution of the Society and the opinions of its Founders, but to their actual proceedings. Be it remembered then, that the *very first Resolution* passed by the Society was to appoint a Committee, of which the Hon. John Randolph was a member, "to present a respectful memorial to Congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as may be thought most advisable for procuring a Territory in Africa or elsewhere, suitable for the Colonization of the Free People of Colour."

This Committee, in the able memorial prepared by them, and which was presented to Congress, observe, that "it is now reduced to be a maxim, equally approved in philosophy and practice, that the existence of distinct and separate castes or classes, forming exceptions to the general system of policy adapted to the community, is an inherent vice in the composition of Society, pregnant with baneful consequences, both moral and political, and demanding the utmost exertion of human energy and foresight to remedy or remove it." After speaking of the unfortunate condition of the Free People of Colour and the consequent injury to the public welfare, they say, "the evil has become so apparent, and the necessity for a remedy so palpable, that some of the most considerable of the slave-holding States have been induced to impose restraints upon the practice of emancipation, by annexing conditions which have no effect but to transfer the evil from one State to another; or by inducing other States to adopt countervailing regulations, and in the total abrogation of a right, which benevolent or conscientious proprietors had long enjoyed under the sanctions of positive law, and of ancient usage. Your memorialists beg leave, with all deference, to suggest that the fairest and most inviting opportunities are now presented to the general government, for repairing a great evil in our social and political Institutions, and at the same time for elevating, from a low and hopeless condition, a numerous and rapidly increasing race of men, who want nothing but a proper theatre, to enter upon the pursuit of happiness and independence, in the ordinary paths which a benign Providence has left open to the human race. Those great ends, it is conceived, may be accomplished by making adequate provision for planting, in some salubrious and fertile region a Colony, to be composed of such of the above description of persons as may choose to emigrate; and for extending to it the authority and protection of the United States, until it shall have attained sufficient strength and consistency to be left in a state of independence."

A favourable Report was made on this memorial by a Committee in Congress, and the memorial was renewed at the next session of that body.

In their second Report, the Managers of the Society express themselves in the following terms: "It (the Society) has been suggested to be an invention of the Southern proprietor, to rivet the chains of servitude upon his slaves, as if the circumstances which accompanied the origin of the society, the character of its members, and their solemn and reiterated declarations did not forbid so unfounded an imputation. It would not be more uncandid to ascribe to them a design to invade the rights of private property, secured by the Constitution and Laws of the several slave-holding States, and to proclaim Universal Emancipation." This is a formal and official declaration of the sentiments of the Society.

From the Constitution of the Society, the recorded opinions and proceedings of its Founders, it is obvious, then,

I. That those who established the Society, looked for aid to the States and to the National Government, and that they bound themselves by their Constitution, to co-operate, if practicable, with these powers in effecting their object.

II. That they had no desire or intention of interfering, in any way, with the rights or the interests of the proprietors of Slaves.

III. That they considered slavery a great moral and political evil, and cherished the hope and belief that the successful prosecution of their object would offer powerful motives and exert a persuasive influence in favour of voluntary emancipation.

These original principles and views of the Society, it is worthy of remark, were



immediately and correctly understood by candid and reflecting men in the remote South, and in the second Annual Report of the *Pulnam County Auxiliary Colonization Society, Georgia*, published in 1821, the managers give in the following terms, their opinion of the Parent Society. "It is national, intelligent, patriotic, benevolent, persevering and prudent."—While enumerating the advantages to be derived from the Institution, they say: "The accomplishment of our object *will secure to every proprietor of slaves an opportunity*, if he thinks proper to exercise the right, of disposing of his property as he pleases; a right for which we all strenuously contend; *but which none of us possess*. The establishment of our Colony will afford facilities to proprietors for completing in Africa the exercise of the *right which can only be partially exercised in this country, of disposing of our property, in our own way, without injury to the community*." Again, "nor let us be alarmed at the idea of such occasional exercises of benevolence; it is enlargement in this country, and not transportation to Africa, that is truly terrible to the South: turn loose a person of colour in the Southern country, then, and without adding to his happiness, you increase in the community an acknowledged nuisance; transport him to Africa, and you promote his happiness, make place for a valuable white member of society, and add to the strength and security of the community." The object of the Putnam County Society, as expressed and defined in its Constitution, "is, to co-operate with the Parent Society, with the General Government itself, or with such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject, in settling a Colony in Africa, &c."—and in the same Report, when calculating the expense to be incurred in removing our whole free coloured population, the Managers add, "to say that the national resources are inadequate to such an expenditure, as fast as it may be needed, even after defraying all the ordinary expenses of the General Government, is a disparagement of which the Managers will not be guilty. The United States have between 3 and 400,000,000 acres unsold land. They will derive a nett revenue from this source of at least \$300,000,000; probably twice that amount. Can they not, *will they not spare the poor sum of 10,000,000 in aid of one of the greatest works of charity in which a nation can engage?*"

We have shown, then, what were at its origin, the avowed design and principles of our Institution, and we have shown, too, that they were so clearly and fully developed, as to admit of no reasonable misapprehension; and also, that they were not misunderstood by Southern men who made themselves acquainted with the publications of the Society.

But the enemies of the Society, in South Carolina, bring against it the charge of bad faith; of having acted under disguise; of being guilty of departure from the design and principles which were professed by it at its origin. The charge is groundless, it cannot be sustained. We call upon those who make it, for their proofs. Mere assertions will not answer the purpose. We demand the proofs. Are they to be found in repeated applications for aid made by the Society, to the State Legislatures, or to the Federal Government? Why these applications are in exact accordance with the Constitution, and the primitive acts of the Society. Has the Society attempted by its proceedings or its publications, by any expression of opinion, or any actual measure, to infringe upon the rights of our Southern Communities? Has it maintained that Congress has the right to disturb or to change the domestic policy of the South? No man can justly impute to it such offence, nor point to a sentence or an act in its history, which justifies such accusations. Nor can it be shown, that at any time, the hopes and wishes of the Society, in regard to the voluntary and gradual removal of slavery, have been more distinctly

expressed than in its first annual Report. The gentlemen in South Carolina, who denounce the Society, cannot plead then in justification of their conduct, that it has departed from the design and the principles which were avowed by its Founders.

But though the charge of hypocrisy and inconsistency cannot be fixed upon the Society; it may still be said, that however clearly its object and principles were originally developed, and however approved by Southern men, they are nevertheless hostile to the rights and the interests of the South. But can this assertion be proved? We think it cannot; but on the contrary, that our Institution is adapted by means unexceptionable, to relieve the Southern States from the acknowledged evil of a free coloured population, while it demonstrates *how these States themselves*, may if they please, accomplish an object of still higher importance to their political and moral welfare, to the honor of their character, and the augmentation of their wealth and their strength.

Recently, we know, that some individuals in South Carolina, have asserted, that little if any advantage, would result to the Southern States, by the removal of the free people of colour; but we know, also, that in this they have contradicted the general opinion in these States, and even the avowed sentiments of the ablest opponents of our Society.

Wherefore the legislative restraints and prohibitions in regard to emancipation, unless because experience has shown that the people of colour, already free, contribute neither to the security nor the prosperity of the community?

Wherefore the adoption of Resolutions in the Legislature of Virginia, requesting the General Government to aid in obtaining a Territory to which they might be removed from the State? Why has Louisiana resolved to expel them from her limits?—Here are actual proceedings amounting to more than a mere declaration in evidence, that this class is viewed as injurious and hostile to the interests of the South. No one can deny that such is the prevailing opinion in the slave-holding States. The Managers of the Putnam County Society (Georgia) remark: "We all know the effects produced on our slaves by the fascinating, but delusive appearance of happiness, exhibited in persons of their own complexion, roaming in idleness and vice among them. By removing the most fruitful source of discontent from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive to our commands; and by rendering them more industrious and obedient, we should naturally secure their better treatment—we should ameliorate their condition." Our enemies have admitted that good would result from the removal of this class. Caius Gracchus declares, that if the Society could attain "this single object in good faith, (the removal of the free people of colour) he should, perhaps, be among the last citizens in the Commonwealth—who would raise his voice against it," and the author of the *CRISIS* (who is doubtless regarded as authority in South Carolina) acknowledges, *that there is no doubt* but that if the South, were relieved from this population, it would be better for our Southern cities, where they principally reside." Nothing can be more plain then, than that the Colonization Society, in its efforts to remove the free people of colour, is accomplishing a work to which the citizens of the South, whether friends or foes to the Society, have given their decided approbation.

It is equally plain and undeniable, that the Society, in the prosecution of this work, has never interfered or evinced even a disposition to interfere in any way with the rights of proprietors of slaves.

But it may be said that the Society has expressed the opinion that slavery is a moral

and political evil, and that it has regarded the scheme of Colonization as presenting motives and exerting a moral influence at the South, favourable to gradual and voluntary emancipation. This is true, and it is this, beyond all question, which has secured to it the countenance and patronage of our most profound and sagacious statesmen, and given to this scheme a peculiar attractiveness and glory in the view of the enlightened friends of their country and mankind.

And is the Society to be held up as odious and dangerous, because it entertains and avows the opinion that slavery is an evil? Is not this a truth, inscribed as it were, upon the firmament of heaven, and the face of the world and the heart of man?—Would not the denial of it, be a denial of the fundamental principle of all Free Government? And is the Society to be condemned for assuming as truth, what even the *Southern Review* does not hesitate unequivocally and repeatedly to avow, while arguing, very ingeniously, in defence of Southern rights and Southern policy? Speaking of the traffic by which slavery was introduced at the South, a writer in this *Review* says, "*Virginia, now so deeply intent upon the means of getting rid of this EVIL, [we wish that South Carolina would imitate her lofty example] in vain exerted herself to prevent it.*" The same writer denominates the slaves, *a barbarous and abominable population;*" and in further allusion to the slave trade, remarks: "*It was a conspiracy of all Europe, and the commercial part of this continent, not only against Africa, but in a more aggravated sense, against these Southern regions.* The sternest justice can demand no more than that *we should be thought as bad as those who brought this EVIL upon us.* Is the *Southern Review*, on account of this language, to be arraigned and condemned as inimical to the rights and the peace of the South? Did not Mr. Jefferson, many years ago, speak out on this subject in a tone, clear, earnest and alarming, reprobating utterly the institution of slavery, and the statesman who would stand forth in its defence? Time would fail us to tell of all the illustrious and patriotic citizens of the South, who have publicly acknowledged the lamentable effects of this system, and evinced their desire that some plan should be devised, which (in consistency with private rights, the public safety and the welfare of the enslaved) might ultimately secure to their descendants complete deliverance from its evils. And must these men be denounced as incendiaries and assassins who to acquire a reputation for philanthropy, would stir up the elements of revolution and bring ruin upon that Society, with the prosperity of which are identified their dearest interests and most precious hopes?

If, on the contrary, *their* opinions were correct and they did right to express them, the Colonization Society cannot justly be reproached for having imitated their example. Nor can the discovery of a plan, meeting in all respects the views of these men, *the adoption or rejection of which*, so far as it can be made instrumental in the diminution or removal of slavery, *depends and must ever depend, upon the will of the South*, be justly otherwise regarded, than as the result of a true concern for the welfare and improvement of our country and mankind.

The free people of colour alone are to be colonized by the Society, and whether the benefits of its scheme are ever to be extended to others, is a question referred to those to whom it pertains as a matter of right and duty to decide. If from our knowledge of existing moral causes, we should venture to predict that this decision will be honourable to the humanity and magnanimity of the South, it will not, we trust, be deemed an offence against that freedom of judgment which those most interested would claim, and which we should be the last to restrict or impair. Con-

fid-ent we are, that should the motives to voluntary emancipation, which are presented in the fact of the establishment on the Coast of Africa, of a prosperous Colony of coloured people, prove effectual, the consequences *will not be less auspicious to Southern interests*, than to the happiness of those who would be made partakers of freedom, in circumstances where only, they may appreciate its dignity and worth. Such consequences could be deprecated only by those who prefer the gratifications of selfishness to the pleasures and rewards of virtue—their private advantage to the general good of their country and mankind.

It is denied that the object of the Colonization Society is *national*; and that Congress has any constitutional power to give it aid. The majority of the people of this Union, we believe, think otherwise, and numerous acts of Congress prove, indisputably, that this body has regarded the right of making appropriations to promote objects not certainly of greater general utility as clearly granted in the Constitution. But, it belongs not to the Society to decide what may or may not be the constitutional powers of Congress. In relation to these, there exists, we are aware, great diversity of opinion, and while the Society solicits, in behalf of its design, the consideration of the National Legislature, it neither desires nor expects aid which can be afforded only by violating the principles of the Constitution. It presumes Congress to know its own duties and is content to submit the merits of its cause to its wise and patriotic judgment.

The hostility, manifested towards the American Colonization Society, has not been excited then, by *any departure of the Society from the design and the principles* which it avowed at its origin, nor yet from *any thing in its character or proceedings unfriendly to the rights and interests of the Southern States*. It is the *success of the Society*, it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its Founders that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. Voluntary emancipation begins to follow in the train of Colonization, and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise without restraint the purest and the noblest feelings of our nature. These strenuous asserters of the right to judge for themselves in regard to their domestic policy, are alarmed at a state of things which secures the *same right* to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired *unless the privilege of emancipating his slaves for the purpose of Colonization shall be denied to the master*? Do they feel that in this country and this age the influences of truth and Freedom are becoming too active and powerful and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines?

If so, their defeat is inevitable. Such men have more to do than to counteract the efforts of our Society. Few and feeble even in the states of the south, they must gird themselves for warfare against all the Friends of virtue and liberty, of man and God. A true son of *Virginia* has said, "I may be permitted to declare that I would be a slave-holder to-day without scruple. But I hold it due to candour to say, that if there be a statesman in the United States, and I believe there are two or three such, who is content that we shall always hold them in servitude, and would advise us to rest contented with them, us and our posterity, without seeking or accepting means of liberating ourselves and them, he deserves a heavier vengeance than the orator's bile, the curses of America counselled to her ruin, and of outraged Africa. Let me not be considered harsh; for inasmuch as the piratical tra-

der for human beings on the African Coast, the master of the slave-ship, is the most detestable of monsters in action, so, I must say, is the advocate by cool argument of slavery in the abstract, odious in thought."

The Colonization Society would be the last Institution in the world to disturb the domestic tranquility of the South. What we have now written has been in self-defence. The interests of many concerned in the management of this Society are identified with those of the South, and while they have looked to the Southern States for efficient support, they have received thence the most cheering and substantial proofs of public favour. They trust that they are not insensible to the responsibility under which they act; that they are ever disposed to take counsel of prudence, and that their motives and their measures are not unworthy of the approbation of the American people and of Heaven.

Numerous in almost every State of the Union, are the Friends of the Society, and few, we trust, even in any State, are its enemies. The enthusiasm of youth and the wisdom of age; the eloquence of the statesman and the minister of Christ; the power of faith and prayers of the devout; manly vigour and female piety and beneficence, unitedly, encourage and sustain it. The good of this world and the glorious of another and a better, look joyfully upon a spot already reclaimed from the darkness and desert of Africa, and illumined and blest with civilization and the gospel. On the rough and stormy waves of affliction, in which for ages this continent has been overwhelmed, gleams the star of hope and promise, and a merciful and heavenly voice breaks forth from the cloud—it is the voice of the Son of God—to still the commotion and put the wrath of the tempest to sleep.

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(No. 4.)

The noble plan of Mr. Gerrit Smith, of New York, to raise \$100,000 for this Society, in the course of ten years, by subscriptions of \$1000, (each subscriber to pay \$100 annually for ten years) has made some progress during the year. We would by no means despair of its accomplishment, though we regret extremely, that our wealthy friends come forward so slowly to give it their patronage. We entreat them to consider the magnitude of the object, and to lend their aid to its full accomplishment.

Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, New York.  
 Jasper Corning, Charleston, South Carolina.  
 Theodore Frelinghuysen, Newark, New Jersey.  
 John T. Norton, Albany, New York.  
 E. F. Backus, New Haven, Connecticut.  
 A Gentleman in Mississippi.  
 Matthew Carey, Philadelphia.  
 William Crane, Richmond, Virginia.  
 Fleming James, ditto.  
 A Friend in Virginia.

Mrs. M. H. Carrington, Mrs. Ann Fontaine, } \$100 annually by  
 Wm. A. Carrington, P. S. Carrington, } equal contributions.  
 Gen. Edward Carrington, and Walter C. Carrington  
 A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier County, Va.  
 Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Mass.  
 Robert Ralstor, Philadelphia.  
 Elliot Cresson, ditto.  
 Robert Gilmore, Baltimore.  
 George Burwell, Frederick county, Va.  
 Association of 20 persons in Rev. Dr. Mead's parish, Frederick co Va.  
 Hon. Edward McGehee, Mississippi.  
 Rev. Dr. James P. Thomas, Louisiana.  
 Four young Gentlemen in Alexandria, D. C.  
 The Auxiliary Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C.  
 A Friend in Fredericktown, Md.  
 Another Subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith, in Bishop Mead's  
 Congregation, Frederick county, Va.  
 John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.  
 Solomon Allen, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Cortland Van Rensselaer, Albany N. Y.  
 Female Colonization Society of Georgetown, D C  
 General John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia  
 Thomas Buffington, Guyandott, Va  
 Judge Burnett, of Ohio.  
 Nicholas Browne, Providence, R. I.

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(No. 5.)

*Resolutions of State Legislatures.*

The following States have expressed in terms more or less favourable, their approbation of the plans of the American Colonization Society. Virginia, Georgia, Maryland, Tennessee, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, Kentucky, Delaware, Vermont, Indiana. Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, New Jersey, Ohio, Delaware, Connecticut, Vermont, Kentucky and Indiana, have recommended the objects of the American Colonization Society to the patronage of the National Government, (Vide Appendix to the Tenth Annual Report of the Society, page 60, and Report 11th, page 80.)

During the year 1829, the following joint Resolutions passed the Senate of KENTUCKY, with only three dissenting voices:

*Resolved, &c.* That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, be requested to use their best endeavours to procure an appropriation of money of Congress, to aid, so far as is consistent with the Constitution of the United States, in Colonizing the

Free People of Colour of the United States in Africa, under the direction of the President of the United States.

2. That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution, to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Governors of the several States.

Mr. Noble of Indiana, presented to the Senate of the United States, a joint Resolution of the Legislature of the State of Indiana, recommending the American Colonization Society to the patronage of Congress.

The memorial of the Colonization Society is now before the Legislatures of Massachusetts and New York, and we have much reason to believe that both of these powerful States will recommend its object to the favour and patronage of the National Government.

The subject of affording aid to the American Colonization Society, has, during the year past, been before the State Legislatures of Maryland, North Carolina, and Louisiana.

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(No. 6.)

*Memorial to Congress.*

It is well known to those who have examined the History of the origin and progress of the Colonization Society, that the powers and resources of the National Government, have been regarded by most of its Friends as alone adequate to complete the design of African Colonization. The Managers of the parent Institution have repeatedly sent in their petitions to Congress, and with the sanction of many State Legislatures invited that body to take into consideration the claims of their object to the patronage of the Representatives of the people of the United States.—The memorials of the Society have, generally, been treated with respect, and several committees to whom they have been referred, have made reports highly favourable to the views of the petitioners. In both Houses, it is believed, the cause of the Society has been rapidly gaining strength. Almost every year has witnessed some addition to the number of States which

have through their Legislatures instructed their Senators and requested their Representatives to give their support in Congress to the object of the Society. But the time has arrived when this subject demands the more general and serious attention of the American people.

The State Society of Kentucky has resolved to second the efforts of the Parent Institution, by presenting its own memorial, with the signatures of citizens from various parts of the State, to Congress, and soliciting that body no longer to neglect the appeals made to it in behalf of a great enterprise, most intimately connected with the welfare of our country as well as sanctioned by the most obvious dictates of national justice and humanity. *We hope the example of our Friends in Kentucky will be imitated by all the Auxiliary Societies in the Land.* Let the people of the United States speak out in tones of solemn earnestness in behalf of the scheme of African Colonization.— Their voice will be heard; and the energies and resources of the Government be brought to complete a work, begun in weakness, but unspeakably important to this country and full of blessings for another.



## LIFE MEMBERS

*Of the Colonization Society, by the contribution of \$30, or upwards, at one time, to the funds of the Institution.*

### *Baltimore.*

Charles Carroll of Carrollton  
J N D Arey and H Didie  
A Fridge and William Morri  
James W M'Culloch  
Nathaniel F Williams  
J Campbell, J Ritchie  
Wilson Millikins & Co  
Amos A Williams  
Isaac M'Kim  
John E Howard  
Robert Gilmore  
Thomas Elliott  
Alex M'Donald  
Thomas Tenant  
Peter Hoffman  
George Hoffman  
John Hoffman  
J Oldfield  
Mr Von Capf  
J I Cohen  
Luke Tiernan  
John Perviance  
Richard Caton  
William Tyson  
N Tyson  
Andrew Ellicott  
James Ellicott  
Hugh Thompson  
John M'Henry  
Philip E Thomas  
Evan Thomas  
J B Morris  
Robert G Harper  
Robert Oliver  
Boswell L Colt  
E J Coale  
John Barr  
Wm E George  
L P Barrows  
John Small  
R H Douglass\*

### *Richmond, Va.*

Hon J Marshall  
Rev J H Turner  
David I Burr  
Rev S Taylor  
William Crane  
Fleming James

### *Charleston, Jefferson county, Va.*

Mrs Elizabeth Whiting

J T A Washington

### *Washington, D. C.*

Wm Thornton\*

Henry Clay

R R Gurley

Richard Harrison

Elias B Caldwell\*

Rev Luther Rice

### *Georgetown, D. C.*

Mrs Harriet B Macomb

John Laird

F S Key

John Mason

J T Shaff\*

Henry Foxall\*

Richard Potts

Edward Colston, *Berkly county, Va.*

C F Mercer, *Leesburg, Va.*

Wm H Fitzhugh, \* *Fairfax county, Va.*

Thomas Fairfax do

John Randolph, *Roanoke, Va.*

### *Philadelphia.*

Robert Ralston

Matthew Carey

Elliot Cresson

Samuel Archer

Richard Dale

Rev Wm A Muhlenburg

Rev J Janeway

Rev Bishop White

Alexander Henry

Mr. Dandridge

Solomon Allen

William H Crawford, *Georgia.*

William Walker do

H H Chapman, *Annapolis, Md.*

Hon B Washington, \* *Mt. Vernon.*

Charles Marsh, *Woodstock, Vt.*

Rev J Caldwell, *Chapel Hill, N. C.*

William Garnet, *Essex county, Va.*

J H Coke, *New Canton, Va.*

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John Dunlap, *Brunswick, Maine.*

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Rev S Everett, *Hallowell, Maine.*

Rev E Gillett, D D do

*Frederick county, Va.*

Philip Burwell  
 Rev Wm Meade  
 Richard K Meade  
 David Meade  
 John Milton  
 Wm Garnegy  
 Hugh Holmes  
 Oliver Tunston  
 James Ship  
 Nathaniel Burwell  
 Susan Meade\*  
 Miss Mary Meade  
 Lucy Meade  
 Rev A Belmain  
 Daniel Lee  
 Mrs Ann R Page  
 Mrs Norris  
 Wm Hay, sen  
 James M Hite  
 John Kerfoot  
 James Somers  
 Wm Mitchell  
 Robert Berkley  
 James Davis  
 Stephen Davis  
 Miss Judith Blackburn  
 Rev Dr Hill  
 Hon Robert White  
 Obd'h Waite  
 James Baker  
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 Joseph Fountleroy  
 Fielding Somers  
 P Nelson  
 Mrs Blackburn  
 George Burwell  
 Monsieur Hyde De Neuville, *France.*  
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*Charleston, S. C.*  
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 Jasper Corning  
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 Wm Smith  
 Mr Poinsett  
 Mr Gibbs  
 Rev Mr Payson  
 Robert Smith  
 Maj Vanderhest  
 John Anson  
 Isaac Ball  
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 Charles C Pinkney  
 Mrs Russel  
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 George Carter, *Loudon county, Va.*  
 John Rose do  
*Boston.*

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 Needham L Washington, *Virginia.*  
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J B Skinner, *Edenton, N. C.*  
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*Schenectady, N. Y.*  
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 Rev John McDonald, do.  
 E F Backus, *New Haven, Conn.*  
 Josiah Bissell, *Rochester, N. Y.*  
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 Wm Maxwell do.  
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 Rev Mr Cookson  
 Geo W Campbell, *Millsburg, Mass.*  
 Rev Richard Bibb, *Russellville, Ky.*  
 Thomas Buffington, *Guyandott, Va.*  
 Gov. E. Cole, *Edwardsville, Illinois.*

\* Dead.

NOTE.—We shall be thankful to our friends to enable us to supply what is deficient, or correct what is erroneous in this list. Some may have been made Life Members by contributions to Auxiliaries, of which we are not informed.

## AUXILIARY COLONIZATION SOCIETIES AND THEIR OFFICERS.

SOCIETIES.	PRESIDENTS.	SECRETARIES.	TREASURERS.
Auxiliary Colonization Society of Maryland,	George Hoffman,	James Howard of J E	John Hoffman,
Connecticut Colonization Society,	His Excellency G Tomlinson,	Rev Leonard Bacon,	Seth Terry,
Auxiliary Society of the State of Vermont,	Hon Elijah Paine,	Rev Chester Wright,	Hon Jeduthan Loomis,
Colonization Society of the State of New Jersey,	Robert Field Stockton,	Rev Robert Baird,	Charles S Davis,
Col Society of the State of New Hampshire,	His Excellency D L Morrill,	Dr Joseph Reynolds,	Robert Voorhees,
Auxiliary Society of the State of Maine,	His Excellency A K Parris,	Thomas A Deblois,	William Pickering,
Auxiliary Society of the State of Ohio,	Hon Jeremiah Morrow,	Nathaniel M'Lean,	Nathaniel M'Lean,
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Colonization Society of North Carolina,	Col William Polk,	Joseph Gales,	Daniel Dupre,
Colonization Society of Kentucky,	John Pope,	Dr Luke Munsell,	Col Edmond H Taylor,
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New York State Colonization Society,	John Savage,	Richard Varick Dewitt,	Richard Yates,
Auxiliary New York City Society,	William A Duer,	John W Mulligan	Moses Allen,
Aux Colonization Society of Portsmouth, Va	Capt Arthur Emmerson,	Overton Bernard,	Col Dempsey Watts,
Aux Colonization Society of Norfolk, Va	James Nimmo	Daniel G Fisk,	John M'Phail,
Aux. Society of Isle of Wight county, Va	Doctor George Butler,	Col W. H. Woodley,	John Woomble,
of Hampton, Va	Rev John S Westwood,	William J Simpkins,	Westwood S Armistead,
of Sussex county, Va	John Cargil	Col George Blow,	William Parham,
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of King William county, Va	John Roane	Christopher W Taliaferro,	Dr William Gwathmey,
of Kenhawa county, Va	Philip P Thompson	Edward S Eddy,	Joseph Lovell,
of Augusta county, Va	Rev Dr Conrad Speece	William Clark,	Joseph Cowan,
of Powhatan county, Va	Col James Clark	John B Tinsley,	Joseph Davies,
Aux Colonization Society of Lynchburg, Va	Rev John Early	Robert Toler,	John Caskie,
Aux Col Society of Fluvanna county, Va	Gen J H Cocke	John B Magruder,	Samuel F Morris,
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Aux Society of Waynesborough, Geo			
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Wilmington Female Aux Society, Del	Miss Elizabeth Montgomery	Miss A H Danagh,	Miss Sarah Black,
Aux Society of Edenton, N C	James Iredell,	Henry Wills,	William R Norcum,
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of Rockingham county, Va  
of New London, Va  
of Petersburg, Va  
of Fredericksburg, Va  
Dinwiddie Colonization Society, Va  
Aux. Colonization Society, Amherst county, Va  
Berkly county, Va  
Nelson county, Va  
Nansemond County Auxiliary Society,  
Aux Colonization Society, Buckingham co. Va  
Female Aux Society, Fredericksburg, Va  
Ladies' Society of Richmond, Va  
Aux Society of York, Pennsylvania,  
of Pittsburg, Penn  
of Washington county, Penn  
Chester County Penn Aux Colonization Society,  
Aux Society of Meadville, Crawford co. Penn  
of Connelsville, Penn  
of Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland  
county, Penn  
of Greencastle, Franklin co. Penn  
of Brownsville and Bridgeport, Fayette county, Penn  
of Waynesburg, Green co. Penn  
of Queen Ann's county, Md.  
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of Dorchester co. Md  
Aux Society of Annapolis, Md  
of Prince George county, Md  
of Talbot county, Md  
Female Colonization Society of Xenia, Ohio

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John Taylor,  
J G Miller  
  
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R Ringold,  
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T Tyler,  
  
Mrs M'Millan

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Aux Female Col Society of Warrenton, Va.  
Aux Col Society of Wanesboro, Georgia,  
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Louisville Col Society, Ky.  
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of Shelbyville, Ken.  
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of Paris, Bourbon co. do.

Indiana State Col Society,  
Tennessee State Society,  
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Aux Col Society Connersville, Indiana,  
Aux Col Society Brookville, Ind.  
Aux Col Society Madison, Indiana  
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of Florence, Alab.  
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Covington Society, Tipton co. Tenn.  
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Paris Society, Henry co. Tenn.  
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of Columbia, Tenn.  
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Aux Society of Franklin co. Tenn.  
of Rutherford co. Tenn.

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Mrs J Glassel,  
Rev Lawson Clinton,  
John M Walker,  
Captain Abraham Hite,  
John Sayage,

Jesse L Holman  
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 Nassau and Schodack Col Society, N Y.  
 Aux Col Society, Catskill, N Y.  
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     of Washington, D C.  
     of Georgetown, D C.  
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 Young Men's Society of Georgetown, D C  
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     of Salam, N J  
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     of Friends, Bedford Pa  
     of Richmond, Ind  
     of Putnam co. Ohio,  
     of Fredericktown, Md  
     of St. Clairsville, Ohio,  
     of Goochland co Va.  
     of Aurora, Ind.  
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 Utica Wilberforce Society,

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 Adonijah Biddwell,  
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 Samuel Stocking,



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## PRESIDENTS.

## SECRETARIES.

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of Columbia, Pa.	William P Beatty,	Dr George Moore	John McKissick
of Lawrenceburg, Ind.	Hon Judge Test,		
of Lebanon, Ohio,	Francis Dunlavy,	Dr Morris	John Reeves
of Paintlick, Garrard co. Ky.		George H Dunn	Thomas Palmer
of Dearborn co. Pa.	John Test,		
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of Rahway, N J	Adam Lee,	Rev M L Jones	Majr Jesse Sneed
of Deep Run, Henrico co. Va.	Col Robert M Saunders,		
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of Buffalo, N Y.	George Palmer	Z Lewis	A Hegeman
of Brooklyn, N Y.	A Vansinderen		
of Middletown, Jefferson co. Ky			
of Springfield, Washington co. Ky.			
of Danville, Mercer co. Ky.			
of Lancaster, Garrard co. Ky.			
of Richmond, Madison co. Ky			
of Flemingsburg, Fleming co. Ky			
of Geneva, N Y.			

Aux. Col. Soc. of St Clairsville, Ohio,  
 of Belleville, Penn.  
 of Williamsport, Penn.  
 of Cookstown, Penn.  
 of Cynthiana and Harrison co. Ky.  
 of Augusta and Bracken co. Ky.  
 of Winchester and Clarke co. Ky.  
 Mountsterling & Montgomery co. do  
 of Springfield, Ky.  
 of North Middletown, Ky.  
 of Georgetown & Scott co. Ky.  
 Nicholasville & Jessamine co. Ky.  
 Bowling Green & Warren co. Ky.  
 Glasgow & Barren county, Ky.  
 Greensburgh & Green county, Ky.  
 Lebanon, Washington co. Ky.

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## Notices.

Copies of this and several preceding Reports can be forwarded by mail to any individuals who may apply for them to the Secretary.

Auxiliary Societies are earnestly requested to forward, as early as may be, their annual contributions to the Treasurer, Richard Smith, Esq. of this City, that the Society may be enabled to fit out expeditions for the Colony in due season.

Annual meeting of the Society on the 3d Monday of January.